

Documenting the Early Modern Book World

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 31

The Handpress World

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Documenting the Early Modern Book World

Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print

Edited by

Malcolm Walsby
Natasha Constantinidou



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Cover illustration: The title page of the catalogue of Bertrand d'Argentré's library (1582), courtesy of the Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole.

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CHAPTER ONE

BOOK LISTS AND THEIR MEANING

Malcolm Walsby

For the three centuries after the invention of printing the purchase of a book remained, for most of Europe's peoples, an unusual and memorable event. During this period some of Europe's most affluent citizens accumulated collections of very considerable size; but even here purchases were carefully considered and weighed against other forms of expenditure. Most collections were, in any case, much smaller. Even the largest institutional libraries numbered only a few thousand.¹

It is no surprise that book owners took particular care of these collections. As they might with other prized possessions, furniture or expensive fabrics, books were frequently carefully listed, often after a collector's death or when a bookshop changed hands, but sometimes for the mere pride and pleasure of possession.² Filed away in archives all over Europe, several thousand of these book lists, or lists containing books, have survived to this day. The great surprise is that these lists and catalogues have not been more systematically employed in bibliographical studies. Cultural historians certainly recognise the importance of books as material objects, and certain personal collections, particularly those of distinguished individuals, have been closely studied. But even in a field as particular as book history, there is some disconnection between the attention given to reading, as revealed by book ownership, and the attempts by bibliographers to document production, as revealed by records of surviving copies.

¹ For the early history of libraries see Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London, Yale University Press, 2010). For England see the work undertaken by the *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* group: <http://plre.folger.edu/> and the research project described in David Pearson's recent article 'The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library*, XIII (2012), pp. 379–399. I would like to thank Christine Bénévent, Flavia Bruni, Natasha Constantinidou and Andrew Pettegree for their comments on an early draft of this text.

² See D. Raines, 'La biblioteca-museo patrizia e il suo capitale sociale—modelli illuministici veneziani e l'imitazione dei nuovi aggregati' in C. Furlan (ed.), *Arte, storia, cultura e musica in Friuli nell'età del Tiepolo, atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Udine, 19–20 dicembre 1996)* (Udine: Forum, 1997), pp. 63–84.

Of course only a small proportion of books published in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries survive today. Many are no doubt lost altogether. Yet the great national bibliographical projects, the English STC, the German VD 16 and the Italian Edit 16 are exclusively made up of these hardy survivors.³ Given the very variable survival rates for different types of book, it is unlikely these can represent the whole corpus of books actually produced. Some types of book will be markedly under-represented. In the circumstances, it seems perverse not to make more use of the multitudinous evidence of contemporary collecting, as revealed in surviving book lists and catalogues, to round out our picture of early modern book ownership and production.

In the years of research leading to the on-line publication in 2011 of the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), the St Andrews book project team attempted always to remain mindful of the opportunities offered by these resources. The USTC already contains several thousand records for works that cannot be documented by surviving copies, but are nevertheless attested by a dependable contemporary record. In the summer of 2011 it was decided to devote our annual book conference to an exploration of these documents which, as it turned out, proved to be not only exceptionally rich, but also very diverse. This introductory essay sets the scene for the individual case studies that follow, laying out an outline typology for the very different sorts of lists and catalogues in which contemporaries recorded loved, disapproved, or valuable books. It also suggests how, and with what cautions, they may be used to examine the expanding world of book ownership and production.

Organising and Listing

The desire to organise was strong throughout the Renaissance.⁴ Through their rediscovery of earlier manuscripts and their new approach to the texts, Renaissance thinkers undermined the traditional mediaeval order. With the appearance of print, the quantity of different texts that

³ All are now available on line, though the simplest way of accessing them is probably now through the Universal Short Title Catalogue, where they may be searched together: <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>.

⁴ A. Blair, *Too Much to Know. Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) and N. Rhodes and J. Sawday (eds), *The Renaissance Computer. Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

circulated rose exponentially and created a cacophony of differing views. This was further complicated by the Reformation as religious divisions challenged one of the strongest sources of relatively consistent thinking that remained in Europe: the Catholic Church. Language itself was changing and the confusion that followed encouraged scholars to look for a new sense of order.⁵ The first two centuries of print saw the publication of a growing number of dictionaries that ordered and re-ordered the language, mostly following a strict alphabetical order.⁶ The prevalence of alphabetical ordering was one of the characteristics of the print world and offered a first semblance of order. The printing process placed a particular emphasis on each letter. Because it was necessary to cast letters separately, there was great interest in their design and in the creation of ornamental initials. Entire books were printed that dealt solely with the question of type and the proportions used for each letter.⁷ There was even discussion about how the alphabet could be changed.⁸ The alphabetical order was also present in all publications as part of the signatures that accompanied each quire of the volume. In other words, the traditional use of the 23 letter alphabet and, where necessary, its repetition acted as guarantors of the order of the book. The text was also accessed through an alphabetical index, which became an important feature of printed books.⁹ The alphabet was also used to order the contents of many book lists. In most of those analysed in this volume, the guiding principle was to order alphabetically by the author's first name, though this was by no means a consistent choice. In the 1612 catalogue of Scaliger's books, for instance, there was no alphabetical approach.¹⁰ In some instances, the

⁵ C. Demaizière 'Un besoin nouveau: ordonner le langage' in G.A. Pérouse (ed.) *Ordre et désordre dans la civilisation de la Renaissance: actes du colloque, Nice, septembre 1993* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1996), pp. 139–147.

⁶ B. Quemada, *Les dictionnaires du français moderne 1539–1863. Étude sur leur histoire, leurs types et leurs méthodes* (Paris: Didier, 1967), p. 47. See also Martine Furno's numerous articles and her forthcoming work on Robert Estienne to be published by Droz in Geneva.

⁷ The two best known examples are probably: Geoffroy Tory's *Champfleury auquel est contenu l'art et science de la deue et vraye proportion des lettres attiques* (Paris, pour Geoffroy Tory et Gilles de Gourmont, 1529) FB 49486 and Christopher Plantin's *Index sive specimen characterum Christophori Plantini* (Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin, 1567) NB 25676.

⁸ A. Szabari 'Le faisable qui ne se fait pas. La fantaisie évangélique de l'écriture chez Honorat Rambaud' in G. Defaux (ed.) *Lyon et l'illustration de la langue française à la Renaissance* (Lyon: Presses de l'ENS, 2002), pp. 183–207.

⁹ On the reorganisation of the book see E.L. Eisenstein *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) pp. 88–106. On indexes, see also H. Meschonnic, *Des mots et des mondes. Dictionnaires, encyclopédies, grammaires, nomenclatures* (Paris: Hatier, 1991).

¹⁰ Article 3: 'The Legacy of Scaliger in Leiden University Library Catalogues, 1609–1716'.

lists simply followed the layout of the books in the library in which they were housed.¹¹

Because of the great quantity of volumes published throughout Europe, the ordering of books posed specific problems. The output of the workshops offered a wide variety of languages and religious view points as well as publications with restricted networks of distribution. Creating lists was an important part of the process of bringing order to this vast and potentially incendiary array of printed matter. The author served society, not only by providing a reference resource, but by bringing a sense of order and stability.¹²

The urge to organise books resulted in the publication of volumes such as Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*, Antoine du Verdier and La Croix du Maine's volumes on French works and Antonio Possevino's *Bibliotheca selecta*.¹³ All these are well known to scholars of the printed book and demonstrate well the different approaches that could be taken by contemporaries seeking to make sense of the sudden outpouring of texts. Whilst Conrad Gesner employed a thematic approach for his *Bibliotheca*, Du Verdier and La Croix du Maine chose to adopt a purely alphabetical order. Possevino's work was conceived as a response to Gesner and had a similarly thematic structure, presenting a Catholic post-Tridentine selection of works in juxtaposition to Gesner's Protestant bibliography.¹⁴ All four were selective in their choices of which books to include and, whatever their claims, none sought to be truly universal in

¹¹ Sometimes this layout was described in detail: see, for instance, the 1530 probate inventory of Héliou Jouffroy's books: M. Desachy, *Deux bibliophiles humanistes. Bibliothèques et manuscrits de Jean Jouffroy et d'Héliou Jouffroy* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2012), pp. 107–150.

¹² On this see the wider thinking in Umberto Eco's *The Infinity of Lists* (London: MacLehose, 2009) and J. Cléard 'Encyclopédie et encyclopédisme à la Renaissance' in A. Becq (ed.) *L'Encyclopédisme, actes du colloque de Caen de 1987* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991), pp. 57–67.

¹³ C. Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1545) VD16 G 1698; La Croix du Maine, *Premier volume de la bibliothèque de la Croix du Maine* (Paris: Abel Angelier, 1584) FB 31761; Antoine du Verdier, *La bibliothèque d'Antoine Du Verdier, contenant le catalogue de tous ceux qui ont écrit, ou traduit en françois* (Lyon: Jean d'Ogerolles pour Barthélemy Honorat, 1585) FB 17852; A. Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda* (Roma: ex typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1593) Edit 16 33809.

¹⁴ On the question of the organisation of knowledge and the works of Possevino and Gesner see H. Zedelmaier's *Bibliotheca universalis und Bibliotheca selecta: Das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1992). See also L. Balsamo, 'How to doctor a bibliography: Antonio Possevino's practice' in G. Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 50–78.

their coverage. They also had dissimilar bibliographical approaches, with very different standards of description for each work presented. As such, the works were representative of the wide variations in bibliographical practice in the creation of Early Modern book lists. But these self-consciously monumental attempts at surveying the corpus of printed works only represent a tiny proportion of the book lists created in this period. Most book lists were far more specific and modest in intention.

Analysing Book Lists

The smaller lists have attracted a certain amount of attention in the scholarly community. A number of these archival discoveries have been transcribed and published in articles and even separate volumes, but often with only limited analysis from the editor. Typically, little effort is made to identify the particular editions cited and the commentary that accompanies them is broadly descriptive rather than analytical.¹⁵ This is a frustrating use of a good source, though this does not mean that the analysis of lists is in anyway straightforward. From the very start, most historians understood some of their interpretative limitations. In his ground-breaking study of 500 library catalogues mostly dated between 1750 and 1780, Daniel Mornet noted the “précautions rigoureuses” that needed to be applied. In particular, he noted that one needed to differentiate between establishing that an individual owned a book and the idea that he might have read it.¹⁶ Following in his footsteps, more scholars have addressed the question of how to interpret the presence of a book in a collection or the motives for book ownership, but far fewer have looked critically at what might have been omitted in the process of compiling such a list.¹⁷ In order to pursue these issues, this introduction summarises the different types of book lists created in the first centuries of print before looking at the limitations of these lists and noting the importance of contextual information. We shall then conclude by outlining some of the problems faced when attempting to identify precise editions. In order to

¹⁵ This unfortunate tendency has even affected well-respected scholars such as Pierre Jourda. See his ‘La bibliothèque d’un juge à Narbonne au début du XVII^e siècle’ *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* (1936) 420–428 or his ‘La bibliothèque d’un régent calviniste (1577) in *Mélanges d’histoire littéraire de la Renaissance offerts à Henri Chamard* (Paris: Nizet, 1951), pp. 269–273.

¹⁶ D. Mornet, ‘Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750–1780)’ *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France*, XVII (1910), pp. 449–492, at pp. 451–2.

¹⁷ Pearson, ‘English Private Library’, at pp. 386–387.

achieve this, we have drawn extensively, but not exclusively, on the articles included in this volume.

Types of Book Lists

The library of the humanist and diplomat Cristóbal de Salazar (died 1587) is known thanks to no fewer than 14 separate book lists. These lists vary in their nature, ranging from complete catalogues of Salazar's collection to more succinct enumerations of books recently bought. Thanks to this, it is possible to have an exceptionally detailed understanding of the Spaniard's library.¹⁸ In cases such as this one when there is more than one inventory that can be analysed, it is possible to resolve some of the problems connected to the specific circumstances of a book list's creation and the peculiarities of the different types of documents that have survived. But such cases are extremely rare. In most instances the historian has to rely on a single book list. Each type of book list has its own characteristics and necessitates a different approach by the scholar.

Probate inventories. Perhaps the most common type of book list we find today was created at a collector's death. Along with all the most valuable belongings, books were listed amongst the possessions of the deceased and, when particularly numerous, appraised by a local bookseller. These probate inventories are an extraordinarily useful resource for historians, though their quality, completeness and number varied considerably from one country to another. In England, the 1529 probate and mortuaries act that regulated the fees paid to ecclesiastical courts also required that a detailed record be made of the possessions of a recently deceased person.¹⁹ As with all Renaissance legislation, the act was undoubtedly implemented with varying degrees of consistency throughout the kingdom, but it did have enough impact to be of great aid to the book historian.²⁰

¹⁸ The lists are presented in J.-M. Lasperas, 'La biblioteca de Cristóbal de Salazar, humanista y bibliófilo ejemplar', *Criticón*, 22 (1983), pp. 5–132.

¹⁹ On probate inventories and their limitations, see M. Overton et al, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London: Routledge, 2004), at pp. 13–14. R.J. Fehrenbach and E.S. Leedham-Green in the introduction to the first volume of their *Private Libraries in Renaissance England. A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists* (Binghamton (N.Y.): Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992) refer to a slightly earlier statute of 1521 (I, xvi).

²⁰ See the continuing *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* project housed by the Folger Shakespeare library in Washington D.C. The database is available on-line at <http://plre.folger.edu>.

The careful appraisals led to an increase in the number of book lists included in probate inventories, especially in the sixteenth century when the comparative value of books was still relatively high. In contrast, in France, such inventories were only drawn up in specific circumstances. Typically, it was done at the request of one of the inheritors of the recently deceased individual or his creditors, when the main beneficiary was under-age or in cases where there was no obvious heir. As a result, the majority of successions did not require a full appraisal of belongings.²¹ The same was true in other regions of Europe. In Mantua, for instance, such inventories were usually drawn up when the normal heirs were either too young to dispose of them or when they were abroad.²²

Booktrade lists. Some of the most substantial book lists to be found in probate inventories were drawn up after the death of members of the book trade. The books owned by printers, booksellers and bookbinders were their prized commercial assets and as such attracted far more interest from assessors than the smaller collections of private individuals. Such lists are particularly useful as they enable us to evaluate stocks and their resale price as estimated by the booksellers called in to give a valuation. But these are not the only lists that inform us of the holdings of members of the book trade. Even in the first decades of print, printers and booksellers published lists of their books as a way of advertising their holdings. We know, for instance, of a number of publishers' catalogues of the incunabula era, though these are mainly preserved in German-speaking areas.²³ Members of the book trade also often kept manuscript registers as a means gauging sales and of stock taking. The Plantin Moretus Museum in Antwerp holds a substantial series of such registers that details all the sales of the Plantin from the sixteenth century onwards.²⁴ Such lists are

²¹ See the remarks made in J.-L. Viret *Valeurs et pouvoir. La reproduction familiale et sociale en Ile-de-France. Écouen et Villiers-le-Bel (1560–1685)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004).

²² G. Rebecchini, *Private Collectors in Mantua: 1500–1630* (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 2002) p. 21. This also seems to have been the case elsewhere in Italy: D. Thornton, *The Scholar in his Study. Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 15–17.

²³ C. Coppens, 'A Census of Printers' and Booksellers' Catalogues up to 1600: Some Provisional Conclusions', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102 (2008), pp. 557–565. The classic study is G. Pollard & A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800, Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965). A revised edition of this work is currently being prepared for the Bibliographical Society by Giles Mandelbrote.

²⁴ See the analysis of Leon Voet in his *The Golden Compasses: a History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam:

particularly interesting as they tell us a lot about the economics of the book trade. Sometimes these lists were also drawn up by prospective owners who wished to monitor their orders or, in the case of wealthy collectors, by those who did the purchasing for them so that they could justify their expenses and obtain reimbursement. This was the case for the books ordered for Catherine of Austria studied in this volume.²⁵

Sales catalogues. The death of the owner of a library could also result in the public sale of his volumes. As the size of collections rose, so it became more and more common to have inventories drawn up and published in order to publicise the event and attract interest. These sales catalogues began to appear at the end of the sixteenth century and became commonplace in the second half of the seventeenth century.²⁶ The large number of catalogues printed bears witness to the vibrancy of the second-hand book market and underlines the importance of lists to the book trade.²⁷ In this volume, such sources are represented through the analysis of Norwegian juridical books and in the study of the Heinsius sales catalogue and its use as an early source of bibliographical information.²⁸ The information in these lists was sometimes similar to that included in the probate inventory: both are principally concerned with the financial value of an item. The sales catalogue of the books of the duke of Croy, printed in 1614 in Brussels, showed just how close this relationship could be. In this case the printer, Rutger Velpius, simply replicated the contents of the probate inventory.²⁹ For most catalogues, the presentation of the bibliographical information could vary substantially depending, notably, on the type of collection being sold.³⁰

Vangendt & Co; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; New York: Abner Schram, 1969–1972) volume II, chapters 15 to 19.

²⁵ Article 4: 'Books Fit for a Portuguese Queen: The Lost Library of Catherine of Austria and the Milan Connection (1540)'.

²⁶ On this see Pollard and Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue* and, more recently, A. Charon & É. Parinet, *Les ventes de livres et leurs catalogues, XVIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: École des Chartes, 2000).

²⁷ The importance of the trade in second-hand books is underlined in M. Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library, 1655–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 81–3.

²⁸ For more the bibliographical use of sales catalogues see also the analysis of Michael Suarez, 'English Book Sale Catalogues as Bibliographical Evidence: Methodological Considerations Illustrated by a Case Study in the Provenance and Distribution of Dodsley's Collection of Poems', *The Library*, 21 (1999), pp. 322–339.

²⁹ C. Coppens, 'A Post-Mortem Inventory Turned Into a Sales Catalogue: A Screening of the Auction Catalogue of the Library of Charles, Duke of Croy, Brussels 1614' *Quaerendo*, 38 (2008), pp. 359–380, at p. 361.

³⁰ C. Rabier, 'Posséder les savoirs: les catalogues de vente des bibliothèques des chirurgiens français et britanniques (1760–1830)' in V. Millot, P. Minard and M. Porret (eds) *La*

Private catalogues. The lists published by booksellers and printers were, inevitably, a source of commercial pride as they demonstrated the quantity and quality of the texts that they stocked. In this, they resembled private lists that proudly enumerated the riches to be found in a library. This was true of shared libraries, such as those put together by religious houses, or educational establishments. In these cases, the lists had a functional value: they indicated to potential readers which texts were available to them and, sometimes, where they were located. For individual private owners, knowing which books they possessed would have been less of an issue as they generally had fewer volumes and the collector would have a better knowledge of his own library. This type of catalogue was, therefore, often more an attempt to record these riches and to demonstrate to visitors the breadth and depth of the collection. However, it is worth noting that the emphasis on sharing knowledge the early modern intellectual culture meant that private libraries were frequently open to others who wished to use them.³¹

Censorship. Such sharing was not without risk. In an age of religious discord, the ownership of forbidden books was a serious matter. For booksellers, bookbinders and printers it could lead to the loss of their stock, which could be seized and destroyed and result in financial ruin. The discovery of censored texts could also discredit the business in the eyes of the religious authorities and lead to the loss of vital lucrative contracts or privileges that had been obtained from religious establishments. In some cases, the damage was even greater: booksellers or printers found to have prohibited material could be put on trial, condemned and executed.³² For private individuals there were also risks, and not just in moments of religious fervour during which the possession of unorthodox religious books could be used as proof to condemn its owner. In such a climate it was essential to know what constituted a forbidden book. It required the publication of lists of censored titles, authors and printers, even though such lists were inevitably also an inadvertent way of advertising the books'

grande chevauchée: faire de l'histoire avec Daniel Roche (Geneva: Droz, 2011), pp. 403–17, at pp. 405–6.

³¹ See for instance the case of Cardinal Bessarion's books: L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana* (Sussidi Eruditi, 31; Rome: Edizioni do storia e letteratura, 1979) and J. Monfasani, *Bessarion Scholasticus: A Study of Cardinal Bessarion's Latin Library* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

³² See the different experiences discussed in M. Walsby 'Printer mobility in sixteenth-century France' in B. Rial Costas (ed.) *Print Culture and Provincial Cities in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 249–268, at pp. 255–6.

contents. In order to police the sale and resale of such volumes, it became obligatory for booksellers and printers in France to draw up a list of the contents of their stores.³³ In some countries, this desire to control the nature and contents of volumes went even further. The establishment of the Congregation of the Index in Rome, led to a vast survey that sought to draw up lists initially of all prohibited books then, later, of all books held by members of the Catholic Church be they lowly priests, monks or friars or important figures in the Church.³⁴ The religious divide was therefore the source of multiple lists of both private and public libraries.

Autobibliographies. A much rarer, but most intriguing type of book list is presented in the study undertaken by Jürgen Beyer and Leigh Penman.³⁵ In their article they present the concept of autobibliographies, that is, bibliographies published by the authors themselves. This interesting phenomenon looks at a very particular type of book list: one in which the editorial choices of what appears and what does not appear on the list are the result of a conscious effort by the author to shape his image through an enumeration of his writings and/or editions. In such circumstances, the issues at stake are complex and require a particularly close examination of the context in which the list was created.

These various classes of list allow the reconstruction of lost or dispersed libraries.³⁶ They help us understand patterns of ownership. But they are not always dry enumerations of authors and titles; they also often contained valuable additional information. This extra material is particularly helpful for understanding various aspects of the early modern book trade. They sometimes provide data on cost, retail pricing, second hand values, binding and library practice. Furthermore, they also provide what can be the only indication of the existence of an edition and as such are extremely important to our understanding of the early modern book world. Taken together, the lists document many thousands of titles and editions that have now disappeared. This is particularly interesting in the context of

³³ See the clauses of the edict of Châteaubriant of 27 June 1551 published as *Edict touchant la congnoissance, jurisdiction et jugement des proces des lutheriens et heretiques* (Paris: Jean Dallier and Jean André, 1551) FB 25315 and following editions.

³⁴ The articles of Flavia Bruni and Andrea Ottone in this volume analyse lists produced for the Congregation.

³⁵ Article 7: 'Printed Autobibliographies from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'.

³⁶ The library of the founder of the Accademia dei Lincei Federico Cesi, dispersed after his death and partially even lost on a shipwreck, can be virtually reconstructed on the basis of two manuscript inventories of the seventeenth century: see M.T. Biagetti, 'Fisionomia scientifica e valore bibliografico della raccolta libraria di Federico Cesi' in F. Sabba (ed.), *Le biblioteche private come paradigma bibliografico* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2008), pp. 97–106.

developing the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*. Whenever possible, the project team has sought to identify and provide bibliographical data on books that are no longer extant. For instance, as part of the work on French vernacular books undertaken by the project, the large volumes of La Croix du Maine and Antoine du Verdier were compared to the surviving corpus of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books. Any unknown editions that were discovered thanks to this process were added to the bibliography when the data provided was deemed to be robust.³⁷ Of course, this process is not without dangers, as we shall see when we discuss the problem of identifying editions from book lists. But there are other caveats that need to be borne in mind when analysing or using the information provided by such lists.

Limitations of Book Lists

The most important issue for the scholar to come to terms with when working with book lists is determining what works may not have been included in the document as a matter of course.³⁸ If it is vital to be aware that a given book list does not always contain every book in an individual's possession, it is possible to identify types of volumes that were routinely omitted from early modern documents.

Ephemera. Short brochures, printed ordinances and single sheet items were generally considered to be of little economic or long term intellectual value. This would have influenced the manner in which printers' and booksellers' holdings as well as private libraries were listed. When included, such pieces were often not enumerated; rather they were gathered together and described in generic fashion. It is not rare to find entries that simply state: "six small books some in French and some in Latin" or "53 small volumes of books in French of various sorts" without the slightest clue as to the titles included or even the general subject matter.³⁹

³⁷ See A. Pettegree, M. Walsby & A. Wilkinson, *French Vernacular Books. A Bibliography of Books Published in the French Language before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) and, more particularly, the article written by Sandy Wilkinson: 'Lost Books Printed in French before 1601', *The Library*, 10 (2009), pp. 188–205.

³⁸ See, for instance, the volumes now known to have been in Nicolò III d'Este's collection but not included in the inventory of the library in 1436: A. Quondam, 'Le biblioteche della corte estense' in A. Quondam (ed.), *Il libro a corte* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1994), pp. 14–16.

³⁹ These examples are respectively taken from R. Doucet, *Les bibliothèques parisiennes au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1956), p. 11 and M. Connat & J. Mégret 'Inventaire de la bibliothèque des Du Prat' *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, (1943), pp. 72–128, at p. 119.

It is noticeable how few ephemeral pieces are to be found in book lists, whatever their genre. The manner in which books of little value were dismissed or excluded from most lists is demonstrated by the inventory of the sixteenth-century Krakow bookbinder Maciej Przywilcki when a collection of 14 outdated books were simply dismissed as being “old rubbish”.⁴⁰ The perceived quality and importance of the texts printed in ephemeral formats was undoubtedly also a reason why some authors did not include such works in their own autobibliographies. This was probably what encouraged the German theological scholar August Pfeiffer to omit his occasional poetry from his own bibliography of the texts he had written.⁴¹

Pamphlets would have often fallen into this category of unrecorded ephemera. One would either have entries with unhelpful titles such as “Bundells of pamphlets in quarto” or nothing at all. As is pointed out by Joad Raymond for English books, in such cases the items taken separately were rarely worth more than one or two pennies and, therefore, would rarely be identified separately.⁴² The intellectual disdain with which pamphlets were held by most scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was an additional reason why they could be excluded. The founder of the Bodleian library certainly thought that they were not worthy of preservation for future generations.⁴³ Even an avid collector of such items such as Pierre de l’Estoile could describe pamphlets as portraying “la fureur et malice du temps” and accuse them of being a symptom of the “maladie du siècle, qui est la passion et la médisance”.⁴⁴ Whatever the perceived intellectual value of the texts, the content of the pamphlet could lead to its omission for another reason: the fear of condemnation by an ecclesiastical or civil authority, or in other words, because of censorship.

Censorship. Most of the lists compiled in the Early Modern period would not have included volumes that were liable to attract the attention

⁴⁰ Article 11: ‘The Book Inventory of the Sixteenth-Century Krakow Bookbinder, Maciej Przywilcki’.

⁴¹ Article 7: ‘Printed Autobibliographies from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’.

⁴² J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 4.

⁴³ As well as Thomas Bodley’s remark see the perceived link between pamphlets and slander or scurrility noted in Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, at respectively pp. 5 and 8.

⁴⁴ The quotes are taken from Pierre de l’Estoile’s journal as cited in G. Schrenck, ‘Jeu et théorie du pamphlet dans le *Journal du règne de Henri III* (1574–1589) de Pierre de L’Estoile’ in *Traditions polémiques* (Paris: École normale supérieure de jeunes filles, 1984), pp. 69–79, at p. 75.

of the censors. The catalogue of a private library drawn up by or for its owner might purposefully exclude works considered to be heretical or too licentious by the authorities.⁴⁵ This would have been especially true for large libraries when catalogues were routinely used for identifying the ownership of titles not just by the collector himself, but also by other potential users.⁴⁶ A post-mortem valuation of a collection might also exclude such volumes on the grounds that it would not be possible to sell them on.⁴⁷ This effectively rendered them worthless and, therefore, they did not need to be enumerated. In other cases sales data did include some works deemed to be unorthodox, probably because the client was sufficiently powerful that the vendor felt safe under their protection. This was certainly the case for the book list presented by Kevin Stevens in his study of the items purveyed to the queen of Portugal, Catherine of Austria. In his study of the list created by the intermediary she had appointed, he demonstrates that she bought works banned both by Charles V and by the Papal index.⁴⁸

Booksellers were well aware of the books that were supposed to be banned, but for which there was a market. Where necessary, they would resort to many different stratagems in order to by-pass controls. One ruse is particularly relevant to the analysis of book lists: the dissimulation of banned editions within volumes that also contained titles that had escaped censorship. By listing only the first title in the volume, the bookseller could hope to avoid detection—though, inevitably, it was a subterfuge that the authorities soon identified. The instructions given to port officials in the New World warned them to look out for this specific problem, noting that often “en un mesmo cuerpo vienen dos o tres libros encuadernados, y suele acontecer que el primero es bueno y los demás

⁴⁵ Forbidden books were often kept apart from the rest of the library and, as a consequence, their registration could result in a separate list: this is the case of the forbidden section of the library of Johannes Faber Linceo, described in G. Miggiano, ‘Fra politica e scienza: la biblioteca di Johannes Faber Linceo’ in F. Sabba (ed.), *Le biblioteche private come paradigma bibliografico* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2008), pp. 107–153, at p. 122.

⁴⁶ On this see the discussion of access to private collections suggested in C. Coppens, ‘Et amicorum: not just for friends’ in D. Sacré & J. Papy (eds), *Syntagmatia: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), pp. 9–17.

⁴⁷ It is interesting, for instance, that the book collection of the Calvinist regent discussed by Pierre Jourda (‘La bibliothèque d’un régent calviniste’) contained no books by Calvin.

⁴⁸ Article 4: ‘Books Fit for a Portuguese Queen: The Lost Library of Catherine of Austria and the Milan Connection (1540)’.

no".⁴⁹ Such contrived miscellanies of diverse items bound together in a single volume also pose wider problems in the context of the analysis of book lists.

Books bound with other books. Very often the purpose of the inventory was to appraise volumes rather than describe precisely the texts they contained. As a result, it was easy for composite volumes containing a number of different editions that had been bound together by the owner to be described by simply indicating the first work present in the volume. Though in some lists a lot of care was taken to list all items, this was the exception rather than the rule.⁵⁰ This difficulty has been noted, for instance, in the entries made into Norwegian auction catalogues.⁵¹ As a result, a large number of works may go unrecorded. Furthermore, because of the cost involved in the binding of books, it is common with early modern volumes to find texts that bear no relation to each other in the same binding. The omission of these editions was not necessarily the result of a conscious decision by the compiler. That it was all too easy simply not to notice that there was another text (or a number of other texts) bound behind the first text is demonstrated by the conflation of two different editions by François de Meyronnes in one of the book inventories compiled for the Roman Congregation of the Index.⁵²

Multisite collections. An even greater and more common problem is lists that, though perhaps complete with regard to the books they were attempting to describe, only present part of a collection. Large collections in particular might necessitate the analysis of lists that covered a number of different locations in which an individual kept his books. Typically, this might involve the separate description of works used in the course of the owner's career (judicial books for example) and those used mainly for recreational reading.⁵³ Furthermore, the existence of a second or third library

⁴⁹ Instructions given in the 1570s quoted in C. Val Julián, 'Surveiller et punir le livre en Nouvelle-Espagne au XVI^e siècle' in D. de Courcelles (ed.), *Le pouvoir des livres à la Renaissance: actes de la journée d'étude organisée par l'École nationale des Chartes et le Centre de recherche sur l'Espagne des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, Paris, 15 mai 1997* (Paris: École des Chartes, 1998), pp. 93–113, at p. 103.

⁵⁰ The Parisian printer-bookseller Denis Duval did this by introducing the word « una » after an item: J. Delatour, *Une bibliothèque humaniste au temps des guerres de religion. Les livres de Claude Dupuy* (Villeurbanne: ENSSIB & École des Chartes, 1998), p. 108.

⁵¹ G. Dahl, 'The Market for Books in Early Modern Norway: The Case of Juridical Literature'.

⁵² See the analysis of this instance in Flavia Bruni's study in this volume.

⁵³ See Article 5 'The Library of the Breton Jurist and Historian Bertrand d'Argentré in 1582'.

may not be made explicit in the document that has survived and may induce the scholar into erroneously thinking that the list he has identified enumerates the entirety of the books in the collection. The book lists of Baldassare Castiglione provide an interesting instance of this phenomenon. When Castiglione died in Toledo in 1529, officials compiled an inventory of the books he had left in Mantua before his departure for Spain in 1524. It was only in February 1530 when his belongings were repatriated from Toledo that the remainder of his books, including those he had originally taken with him and those that he had later acquired abroad, were finally appraised in a separate book list.⁵⁴

The libraries of Louis de Rouvroy, duke of Saint-Simon are a particularly extreme example of this problem. The best known list of his books is the catalogue of the duke's books that were auctioned off in Paris a few months after his death on 2 March 1755.⁵⁵ This sales catalogue contains some 1099 entries, but this does not represent the entirety of his collection. Far from being the only list of Saint-Simon's books, there were, in fact, a further five separate manuscript inventories that detailed the possessions of the duke. And each of them contained a partial list of the books he owned. In order to have a better understanding of his collection, it is necessary to analyse and compare all six lists.⁵⁶ In this case we know of all six lists, but it is easy to imagine that for many owners the extant book list might, in fact, have only been one of a series of which none other has survived.

Such difficulties are echoed by Gina Dahl in her study of the juridical books to be found in Norwegian auction catalogues. She notes that many books never made it into the catalogues even if they appeared to advertise the sale of all the volumes owned by a given individual. Instead, a number of them were given away, kept by the family or sold off separately from the main part of the collection.⁵⁷ Kasper van Ommen's analysis of the catalogues of Scaliger's books warns us not to expect that contemporary instructions were carried out the letter. He demonstrates that even when a bequest purported to contain the entirety of his oriental collection, in reality some relevant titles had been removed or were excluded and sold

⁵⁴ Rebecchini, *Private Collectors in Mantua*, p. 116.

⁵⁵ R. Davidts, *Catalogue des livres de feu M. le duc de Saint-Simon, dont la vente se fera en détail lundi 11 août 1755 et jours suivants, rue de Grenelle, vis-à-vis de l'abbaye de Pantemont* (Paris, 1755).

⁵⁶ This has been done by Philippe Hourcade in his *La Bibliothèque du duc de Saint-Simon et son cabinet de manuscrits (1693–1756)* (Paris: Éditions Classiques Garnier, 2010).

⁵⁷ Article 8: 'The Market for Books in Early Modern Norway: The Case of Juridical Literature'.

separately. As a result, the library catalogue which should have listed all Scaliger's oriental books was in this respect incomplete.⁵⁸

Prices. Evaluating the composition of a library working only from partial surviving inventories is not the only issue faced by scholars. One of the most common pieces of additional data provided by book lists such as probate inventories and sales catalogues is a price. But such information must come with a warning: the nature of the list shapes the interpretation that should be placed on such price data. In probate inventories, for instance, appraisers were not looking at the original or bookseller value of the book but how much that volume was worth. Roger Doucet has suggested that there was little difference between the prices given in the inventories and genuine resale prices to be found elsewhere.⁵⁹ But this is not borne out in all studies. The differences in the valuation of a collection could be quite marked. The sixteenth-century Lyon bookseller Étienne Michel certainly had a more inflated view of the value of his books than did his assessors and analysis of some of the figures given in the inventory of his warehouse compared to contemporary prices show important differences.⁶⁰

This highlights that in most cases, and notably in the ones examined in Doucet's study, such a discussion misses the main point. Assessors were considering the book as an object as much as an edition. Just as is the case today, the state of a book, its provenance and condition could all change its value. In other words, prices were copy specific. The most important price differential was undoubtedly a result of the volume's binding.⁶¹ In the inventory of the books of Antoine du Prat, drawn up in 1557–8, some entries only gave information about the bindings and nothing on the books' contents.⁶² The valuation of the books in the workshop of the Krakow bookseller, Maciej Przywilcki offers some precise examples of the possible price differential. As Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba demonstrates,

⁵⁸ Article 3: 'The Legacy of Scaliger in Leiden University Library Catalogues, 1609–1716'.

⁵⁹ Doucet, *Bibliothèques parisiennes*, pp. 72–3. The author does not provide any proof for this assertion (and there is no accompanying footnote).

⁶⁰ I. Maclean, 'Murder, Debt and Retribution in the Italo-Franco-Spanish Book Trade: the Beraud-Michel-Ruiz affair, 1586–91' in R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (eds) *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* (London: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2007), pp. 61–106, at pp. 71–2.

⁶¹ The *Procès-verbal* of the inventory of the library of Pontus de Tyard drawn up in 1638 made this clear in the preamble noting that the valuations were done "selon les raretés, impress[ions] et relieures desditz livres" see S.F. Baridon, *Inventaire de la bibliothèque de Pontus de Tyard* (Geneva: Droz, 1950), p. 9.

⁶² See the items listed in M. Connat & J. Mégret 'Inventaire de la bibliothèque des Du Prat', at p. 119.

the presence of the same edition with different bindings shows the variation in resale value, with certain bindings doubling the original asking price. Przywilcki's books add a further layer of complexity as it is suggested that the prices given in the list followed those initially given by the bookbinder himself, rather than an appraiser's estimate.⁶³

An interesting variation in this regard is provided by lists that contain price information added subsequently. The owner of the copy of the printed sales catalogue of Nicolaus Heinsius's library analysed by John Sibbald conscientiously annotated his volume with manuscript prices which he added in the margins. The interest of such a list is that the prices given are no longer an estimate attributed to the volume by an assessor but the amount of money actually paid for the book. And when this concerns over 13,000 items, such indications become particularly valuable.⁶⁴

The example of the analysis of prices underlines the importance of accumulating as much contextual information as possible. It is essential to recognise that each list was drawn up in very specific circumstances. Even with the same genre, the same town and within the same period, volumes could be described in radically different ways. For instance, the variation in description of the inventories of the shops of sixteenth-century Krakow binders and publishers is particularly remarkable.⁶⁵ Even when the Roman Congregation of the Index proceeded to have the holdings of the Italian clergy investigated in the late sixteenth century, the accuracy of the resulting data varied noticeably from one region to another.⁶⁶ Much of the information provided in these lists can only be used when contextual elements are taken into account. The date at which the books were enumerated is obviously important: the political, religious and economic situation can be key to understanding correctly not only additional information, but also the strength and nature of censorship, for instance. The owner of the books, the compiler of the register and more generally anyone involved in the list's creation require study.

Geographic circumstances are equally important factors. The presence of trade routes can help explain the presence of certain imprints, or

⁶³ Article 11: 'The Book Inventory of the Sixteenth-Century Krakow Bookbinder, Maciej Przywilcki'.

⁶⁴ Article 6: 'The Heinsiana—Almost a Seventeenth-Century Universal Short Title Catalogue'.

⁶⁵ Article 11: 'The Book Inventory of the Sixteenth-Century Krakow Bookbinder, Maciej Przywilcki'.

⁶⁶ Article 9: 'The Book Inventories of Servite Authors and the Survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index in Counter-Reformation Italy'.

highlight a peculiarity of the list. For booksellers' and printers' holdings, the geographic location could determine the titles they stocked. This could vary enormously depending on the religious complexion of the region, the different judicial systems and the specific economic strengths of each town. This is particularly true when studying the book holdings of different people in the same region or town. The work of Andrea Ottone on the dioceses of southern Italy is particularly interesting in this regard. By analysing the volumes owned by the post-Tridentine secular clergy, he identifies interesting trends and demonstrates how book ownership reflected professional status.⁶⁷

In this regard one should also be careful not to extract a book list from a wider inventory of belongings without providing some analysis of the other objects enumerated. The analysis of the volumes in isolation can lead the scholar to misunderstand the relative importance of the books to their owner. In probate assessments and, more generally, in inventories of the belongings of an individual or an institution, the context provided by the rest of the list can be the source of vital information. Here, Alex Marr's analysis of the books donated to the Bodleian offers a perfect illustration of this, where the books donated need to be considered in the wider framework of collections which also include numerous (and highly valued) mathematical instruments.⁶⁸

Identification of Editions

Identifying the edition that corresponds to an item is perhaps the hardest part of editing a list. The wild variation in the quantity and quality of bibliographical data given by each list makes generalisations difficult. Often scholars are limited to the most basic information: the title and/or the author's name. However, in some cases the compiler chose to give some very precise information for every item listed. An extreme example of such scrupulous documentation is provided by the autobibliography of the sixteenth-century humanist Casper Brusch. In this instance, the author went as far as to include such elements as the number of leaves of each edition as well as often indicating the name of the dedicatees.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Article 10: 'Pastoral Care and Cultural Accuracy: Book Collections of Secular Clergy in Three Southern Italian Dioceses'.

⁶⁸ Article 2: 'Learned Benefaction: Science, Civility and Reconstructing Donations of Books and Instruments to the Bodleian Library Before 1605'.

⁶⁹ Article 7: 'Printed Autobibliographies from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'.

Unfortunately such precision is rare. In most instances, scholars are left with the difficult task of extrapolating from incomplete descriptions.⁷⁰

In the case of fifteenth-century lists, the limited number of existing editions can make identification more straightforward. But even here identification can be problematic. In their in-depth analysis of the sales journal of a Venetian bookseller active during the 1480s, Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris note that though determining the text used was simple enough, the seller generally only recorded the title. The only exceptions to this rule were texts of which they stocked more than one edition but, even in this case, when appropriate the compiler often simply resorted to indicating the format of the copy sold rather than adding more precise bibliographic data such as the name of the printer or the year of publication. The care and precision with which they have sought to analyse each entry in the list makes the appendix to their article a worthwhile template for future editions of book lists.⁷¹

However, providing such a sophisticated level of analysis can be problematic with later lists. Inevitably, the degree of difficulty varies with the amount of information provided in the original entries. Some lists give all the necessary indications including the name of the printer and the year in which the edition was produced, but others give virtually no information beyond the name of the author. Determining the edition in such cases often involves making an informed choice between a number of plausible possibilities. In certain instances the work is made even more difficult because of the misleading information that is given. In some of the entries described in the inventory of the holdings of Beatriz Pacheco's bookshop the most basic information, the name of the author and the title of the book, had been changed making it particularly difficult to trace first the original text and then the actual edition.⁷²

Errors. One of the most difficult issues encountered in the analysis of book lists is recognising irregularities introduced by scribal mistakes.

⁷⁰ For instance, the inventories of the library of San Marco in Venice (drawn up between 1622 and 1679) lack any typographical information: D. Raines, 'Dall'inventario 'short-title' al catalogo bibliografico: un excursus tipologico delle biblioteche private nella Venezia cinque-settecentesca' in F. Sabba (ed.), *Le biblioteche private come paradigma bibliografico* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2008) 79–95, pp. 92–93; and the catalogue of the books of the Congregation of St Maur in Rome of 1688, in F. Sabba, 'La biblioteca del 'Procureur général' della Congregazione di S. Mauro a Roma', *ibidem*, 235–254, Appendix pp. 247–254.

⁷¹ Article 14: 'Oil and Green Ginger. The *Zornale* of the Venetian Bookseller Francesco de Madiis, 1484–1488'.

⁷² Article 13: 'The Inventory of Beatriz Pacheco's Bookshop (Santiago De Compostela, 1563)'.

This can sometimes make identification impossible and create editions that could not possibly have existed. In such cases a literal approach to the date information recorded in these manuscripts can lead to the strangest claims. In a recent study of the library of the Pontac, an historian was led to the impossible conclusion that a volume of Justinian supposedly printed in Paris in 1429 might have been the result of xylographic printing. Instead, he might have reflected that there was an edition published by the Parisian Claude Chevallon in 1529 and that the compiler had mistakenly replaced the five with a four.⁷³ In Benito Rial Costas's work on the holdings of a Galician bookseller, he analyses the errors made in the probate inventory of her possessions and concludes that the document must have been drawn up by a scribe copying out titles that were dictated.⁷⁴ The transition from spoken word to written inventory would inevitably lead to a number of misunderstandings. In such circumstances, even reputable printer-booksellers such as the Parisian Denis Duval would be prone to distort names and titles.⁷⁵ In other cases, such as the catalogue of the books of the Breton jurist Bertrand d'Argentré, the mistakes would seem to have been the result of carelessness or weariness when copying out a draft document.⁷⁶ Flavia Bruni in her study of the books owned by Servite authors suggests that such errors of transcription could also be attributed to insufficient levels of education amongst those who created the list.⁷⁷

Title. The title is sometimes the only information given about a book, especially if the name of the author is not known. However, the manner in which this is rendered in the book list can be the source of some confusion. As has been noted by Shanti Graheli in her study of the publications of the *Accademia Venetiana*, the title used in a list was not necessarily a verbatim reproduction of what is to be found on the title page of the original edition. In this case, the compiler of the list might well refer to a work by a keyword or a phrase which might be sufficient to enable identification of the text within the private context of a printer's workshop.⁷⁸

⁷³ C. Grenet-Delisle 'Une bibliothèque bordelaise au XVIIe siècle, la bibliothèque de Pontac' *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 132 (2011) 203–230 at p. 215. The Paris edition of the works of Justinian by Claude Chevallon contained 5 volumes, see FB 76133–4 & 76136–8.

⁷⁴ Article 13: 'The Inventory of Beatriz Pacheco's Bookshop (Santiago De Compostela, 1563)'. This idea was also put forward by Roger Doucet in his study of Parisian libraries (see his *Bibliothèques parisiennes*, p. 10).

⁷⁵ See the examples given in J. Delatour, *Une bibliothèque humaniste*, pp. 50–1.

⁷⁶ Article 5 'The Library of the Breton Jurist and Historian Bertrand d'Argentré in 1582'.

⁷⁷ Article 9: 'The Book Inventories of Servite Authors and the Survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index in Counter-Reformation Italy'.

⁷⁸ Article 12: 'Reading the History of the Accademia Venetiana Through its Book Lists'.

More generally, it is common to find lists that use heavily abbreviated forms of the title or, indeed, lists where it has been replaced by the name of the author or a well-accepted variant.⁷⁹

Printed and manuscript books. The question of the relationship between print and manuscript is another issue. In the catalogue of the books owned by Josephus-Justus Scaliger drawn up by Bonaventura Vulcanius there was a clear distinction made between the manuscripts (that were considered particularly valuable) and the printed items.⁸⁰ However, this was rare. In most inventories manuscript items are listed alongside printed items. In lists with relatively little bibliographic information on each item, differentiating between the two can be difficult. In some cases, the compiler would introduce a helpful annotation such as “written by hand”, but even in lists where this type of indication does appear, its absence for other items cannot be seen as proof that a title was printed. This is illustrated in Bertrand d’Argentré’s list by the appearance of Le Baud’s *Brévière des Bretons*.⁸¹ Even when both categories were clearly separated, one should treat the distinction made with a healthy amount of scepticism. Some of these books have a distinctly hybrid quality. Printed books with lavish hand painted miniatures or considerable marginalia could easily have been categorised as manuscripts and, indeed, often are even in modern-day libraries. Similarly, composite volumes could easily contain both manuscript and printed items.

Place of printing and printer. The geographic location and identity of the collector are often used by scholars to identify where and by whom a book was printed when no relevant data has been included in the list. This is, however, a leap of faith. Editions produced in a distant print centre could easily have been shipped to the place in which the work was listed. Here the analysis of regional trade links and additional information about the bookselling culture of the town or region in which the collector lived could all be used to select the probable place of printing, but without any certainty. As has been noted for the case of Santiago, the tendency simply to identify entries in a book list with the most local edition only serves to increase the seemingly parochial nature of a collection without sufficient

⁷⁹ It has been suggested that some titles could be taken from the books’ spine, see F. Bruni ‘La biblioteca di S. Pier Piccolo ad Arezzo: tracce per una ipotesi ricostruttiva’ in R.M. Borraccini (ed.), *Dalla notitia librorum degli inventari agli esemplari: saggi di indagine su libri e biblioteche dai codici Vaticani latini 1266–1326* (Macerata: Edizioni Università di Macerata, 2009), 179–203, at pp. 201–202.

⁸⁰ Article 3: ‘The Legacy of Scaliger in Leiden University Library Catalogues, 1609–1716’.

⁸¹ Article 5: ‘The Library of the Breton Jurist and Historian Bertrand d’Argentré in 1582’.

proof. The result can be to give a very misleading impression of the book culture of an individual or of an area.⁸²

Dating. The erroneous reading or transcription of the date is one of the main sources of difficulty when attempting to identify an edition. Here, the comparison of book lists with surviving collections can be particularly informative. When the rest of the bibliographic data is of high quality, it also enables manifest mistakes to be corrected with some degree of certainty. In the case of the Roman Index lists where the data given includes the author's name, the title of the work, the place of printing and the name of the publishers, the historian has sufficient contextual information to correct an obvious error in the date of publication.⁸³ One of the most typical mistakes is the misreading of a year expressed in Roman numerals. Another is to transcribe faithfully a date that was not the date at which the book was published but another date on the title page or inside the book.

Dates were not included as a matter of course in most book lists. They were often left out of otherwise quite precise probate inventories.⁸⁴ When no date is given, the identification of the edition cited becomes particularly problematic. Historians have traditionally chosen to select the reprint of a text that is closest chronologically to the date of the list with which they are working.⁸⁵ This, however, is generally not borne out by the lists that give sufficiently complete data. In the Pontac inventory of 1681, for instance, over 88% of the collection was dated from before 1620 and the most common decade of publication was the 1580s—a full century before the inventory of the library was drawn up.⁸⁶ In some cases there might be additional, but vague indications that seem to have some bearing on the date at which a given edition was published. Thus, for instance, the compiler of the list might note that one item was an “old edition”. However, this is not necessarily an indication of great age and might instead be a remark based on the use of an antiquated typeface or page layout. In mid to late sixteenth-century France, this might just mean that the edition was

⁸² Article 13: ‘The Inventory of Beatriz Pacheco’s Bookshop (Santiago De Compostela, 1563)’.

⁸³ See the illustrative cases provided in article 9: ‘The Book Inventories of Servite Authors and the Survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index in Counter-Reformation Italy’.

⁸⁴ See the 1595 inventory of Dupuy’s books (J. Delatour, *Une bibliothèque humaniste*) which consistently gives other information such as the format and a succinct description of the binding, but systematically omits the date.

⁸⁵ See for instance the note included as a preamble to the inventories listed in Doucet, *Bibliothèques parisiennes*, p. 82.

⁸⁶ This has been calculated using the figures given in Grenet-Delisle ‘Une bibliothèque bordelaise’, p. 216.

printed in gothic type. It might also be a remark related more to the perceived value of the book than to the date of its publication: it seems unlikely, for instance, that an edition by the Aldine presses would be described in this way whatever its real age.

Language. Books in foreign languages posed a particular problem for the compilers of book lists. With books in the less widely studied ancient languages, such as Hebrew and Greek, it was relatively common for titles to be translated into either Latin or the local vernacular language without necessarily indicating the original language of the book. As has been noted in the case of Parisian probate inventories, one cannot even assume that a title given in Latin in the list would not actually have been a vernacular edition.⁸⁷

With the difficulties set by the identification of editions and the numerous limitations that we have acknowledged, using book lists is clearly a complicated process. The opposition some historians have identified between qualitative and quantitative analysis of book lists can act as a further disincentive for those wishing to use them.⁸⁸ In such circumstances, the enthusiasm demonstrated by early proponents of the use of book lists can seem misplaced. This has led Albert Derolez in his work on the catalogues of manuscripts in medieval libraries to conclude that it would be best just to identify the books cited and not attempt any further analysis.⁸⁹ This seems very reductive. Jettisoning book lists as an historical source simply because their use is difficult makes little sense. Analysis can be more enterprising and yet simultaneously cautious, as was exemplified by the approach adopted by Jérôme Delatour who chose to grade his identifications of editions and copies as certain, probable, possible and unidentified.⁹⁰

The articles that follow present a wide variety of book lists, drawn up at different points during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a number of European cities. They demonstrate the extraordinary richness and complexity of the developing book world, in which books easily crossed national and linguistic boundaries to end up in collections very far from their place of publication. They show us confident owners, branching out from the narrow specialisms of the earliest collections

⁸⁷ Doucet, *Bibliothèques parisiennes*, p. 11.

⁸⁸ See the analysis of Benito Rial Costas in his 'Sixteenth-Century Private Book Inventories and Some Problems Related to their Analysis' *Library and Information History*, 26 (2010), pp. 70–82.

⁸⁹ A. Derolez, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), p. 67.

⁹⁰ J. Delatour, *Une bibliothèque humaniste*, p. 110.

painstakingly accumulated by lawyers, doctors and clerics for professional purposes, to encompass broad-ranging literary and cultural interest. They demonstrate a growing interest in the natural sciences, astrology and architecture, and an increasing willingness of publishers to undertake complex and technically demanding texts to satisfy this demand. And they demonstrate that the constant vigilance of authorities keen to define acceptable belief could not overwhelm a determined inquisitiveness of spirit among those building a library. Certainly, it is hoped that the studies included in this volume show how, when exercising due care, it is possible to use these lists to achieve a better understanding of the early modern book world.

PART ONE

UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

CHAPTER TWO

LEARNED BENEFACTION: SCIENCE, CIVILITY AND DONATIONS OF BOOKS AND INSTRUMENTS TO THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY BEFORE 1605

Alexander Marr

In 1598 the physician, engraver, and Fellow of New College, Richard Haydocke, dedicated his translation of Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura* (1585)—the first treatise on the pictorial arts published in English—to Sir Thomas Bodley. Haydocke was the first to acknowledge in print Bodley's promise to re-found Oxford University's library, praising his

... soundnesse in variety of Learning ... that memorable Monument of your exceeding loue towards this our Vniuersity ... In regard-full acknowledgement whereof ... I am willing, to bee the first, who should steppe forth, to yield you Publique thanks ... since it hath pleased God to mooue your harte to the erecting and restoring of this worthie *Panbiblion*, or Temple to all the *Muses*.¹

Between 1598 and 1605, when the first printed catalogue of the library was published, Bodley and his circle secured sufficient donations of books and cash to create a repository around 8,700 volumes strong, which Elizabeth Leedham-Green and David McKitterick have claimed was “*de facto* the British national library”.² Yet while the basic history of the Bodleian's formative period is well known, surprisingly little attention has been paid to what its early years may tell us about intellectual, and in

¹ Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *A Tracte containing the curious artes of painting, caruing and building*, trans. Richard Haydocke (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1598), ¶ij^v. The dedication to Bodley is dated 24 August 1598. It seems likely that this dedication led to Haydocke's prominent position as one of the early facilitators of the library's development. On Haydocke, see my edition of his *Tracte, Modern Humanities Research Association Tudor & Stuart Translations Series*, vol. 14 (forthcoming). I am grateful to Ian Maclean, John Barnard, Mordechai Feingold, and William Poole for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this essay.

² Elizabeth S. Leedham-Green and David McKitterick, 'Ownership: Private and Public Libraries', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain vol. IV 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, with Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 323–338, at p. 336.

particular scientific, culture in late Renaissance England, despite the fact that it swiftly became the country's most comprehensive collection of scientific books since the 'spoiling' of John Dee's famous Mortlake library in the late 1580s. Before proceeding any further, it should be noted that I am conscious of the fact that the word 'science' is an anachronism when dealing with the late Renaissance suite of subjects that we now associate with that term, but I use it here as shorthand for natural philosophy, mathematics, instrumentalism, and medicine, and it is with books on these topics that I shall be concerned.³

The comparative neglect of the early Bodleian by historians of science derives largely from the university's reputation in its early years (perpetuated in much subsequent scholarship) for scientific conservatism.⁴ In the 1620s, for example, Robert Burton, best known for the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, attacked the Bodleian as a decrepit, backwards-looking institution in his play *Philosophaster*: a satire on 'pseudo-philosophy' which describes the library as a place "wherein many dead are found, unhappily held by chains".⁵ In *Philosophaster*, Burton associated backwardness with rigid Aristotelianism, pointing the finger at the University and its library for ubiquitous, unbending adherence to the Philosopher. Apart from the fact that, as Charles Schmitt has shown, late Renaissance Aristotelianism could entertain a plurality of natural philosophical attitudes, if we study closely the evidence for the library's composition in its early years we find that from the outset it contained major works by those figures associated most closely with the Scientific Revolution.⁶ Taking astronomy as an example, by 1605 the Bodleian included seminal publications by Copernicus (including *De revolutionibus*), Tycho Brahe, Galileo, and Kepler, to name but a few. Indeed, June of 1603 found Bodley urging his

³ We may note that medicine and the quadrivial arts occupied different positions on the map of learning at the time: medicine had long been one of the higher disciplines with its own *cursus* (signified in the Bodleian by the fact that medicine had its own shelf-mark), while the quadrivial arts were only beginning to rise in intellectual status. While mathematics was seen as propaedeutic to higher disciplines such as medicine and natural philosophy, the university's first chairs in geometry and astronomy were not founded until 1619 (by Bodley's friend, Sir Henry Savile).

⁴ An exception is Mordechai Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship: Science, Universities, and Society in England, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

⁵ Robert Burton, *Philosophaster*, quoted in Nicholas Tyacke, 'Science and Religion at Oxford before the Civil War', in *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 244–261, at p. 245.

⁶ See e.g. Charles Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill and Queen's University Press, 1983).

first librarian, Thomas James, to “remember to call on Mr [Thomas] Allen for Tychon Brahe his last booke, and cheine [it] with the rest”.⁷

Despite such indications of the early Bodleian’s scientific riches, little use has been made of key sources connected to the library: the famous Benefactors Register; the ‘readers lists’ compiled by the first librarian, James; and those books still in the library that may be identified as donations, all of which may shed new light on the composition and bookish habits of England’s nascent scientific community.⁸ I use the term ‘community’ in a loose sense to describe those individuals involved—on whatever level—with the sciences in England at the time, and to describe also the wide range of figures associated with the Bodleian in its formative period, be they donors, librarians, advisors, or book trade professionals. Although patronage of the library was in certain respects a keenly local affair that operated through Bodley’s existing relationships, it mediated between men of greatly differing social status and drawn from multiple professions, creating an informal network of individuals who exchanged objects and information. These men (patronage of the library seems to have been an entirely homosocial affair) were concerned particularly with the status, classification, and use of written matter, and were bound by the implicit codes of decorum that governed the Republic of Letters.

I

It is with the essential contexts of decorum and civility in benefaction that we should begin, for the honour and prestige that became associated very rapidly with patronage of the Bodleian led to donations on an unprecedented scale, as we may see from the table of books and money given between 1600 and 1604, compiled from the Benefactors Register (Table 2.1).

The honour that accrued from such gift-giving derived in no small part from Bodley’s shrewd identification of the benefits that could derive from the public recognition of donations. For instance, in July 1601, just a few months before the library’s official opening, he wrote to his recently appointed librarian, James, about the delicate necessity of providing

⁷ Bodley to James, 24 June 1603, in George W. Wheeler, *Letters Addressed to Thomas James, First Keeper of Bodley’s Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 91. The book in question is probably Tycho’s *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* (Nuremberg: Levinus Hulsius, 1602), now M 2.10(3) Art.

⁸ On the English scientific community ca. 1600 see e.g. Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).

Table 2.1. Donations to the Bodleian Library, 1600–1604.

Year	Donors giving money	Donors giving books	Donors giving money and books	Total amount of money donated	Total no. of titles donated
1600	7	10	0	£ 245	1276
1601	17	22	2	£ 240-13-0	654
1602	9	23	0	£ 285-6-8	893
1603	12	12	0	£ 465	1258
1604	3	9	1	£ 150	711
Total	48	76	3	£ 1385-19-8	4792

public thanks for promises of donations. Any offers of gifts, he wrote, no matter how informal,

... shall be heereafter publikly registered: and yow may promise the like ... and so yow must to as many, as bestowe any bookes: which would be called on, with all the goode speede, that conueniencie, fitte time, and good manners will affourd. For many mens mindes doe alter so soone, as it will be requisit alwaies, to open the poake when the pigge is presented.⁹

Thus, the patronage dynamic of the Bodleian Library, facilitated by friendship networks that cut across the worlds of the university, the court, and the city of London, operated through the conventions of civil exchange. These conventions, as Bodley's letter implies, were based upon the gentleman's "promise", and the observation of "good manners", therefore demanding formal recognition via public thanks. The form of 'thanks' that Bodley decided upon was a Benefactors Register, but even before that document's publication in 1604, Bodley and James were both keenly aware of the need to acknowledge their donors by preparing: "a table, and therein a list of all mens names and giftes, that ... haue increased the Librarie", which was to be displayed in the refurbished Duke Humfrey's Library until the printed Register was ready.¹⁰ The preparation of such a table

⁹ Bodley to James, 25 July 1601, in Wheeler, *Letters to James*, p. 11.

¹⁰ As Beddard has noted, Bodley also arranged to have letters of thanks delivered personally to socially elite donors by a messenger "of good account", while less elevated donors (mostly university scholars) were to be thanked "by word of mouth" by friends and colleagues. R.A. Beddard, 'The Official Inauguration of the Bodleian Library on 8 November 1602', *The Library*, 7th series, vol. 3, no. 3 (2002), pp. 255–83, at pp. 260–1. Following the publication of the Bodleian Benefactors Register many colleges followed suit: by the end of the century almost every college (and some of the Halls, such as Magdalen Hall) had a

clearly indicates the delicacy involved when dealing with donors; as Bodley noted: "There is much to be considered, in the order of placing the contributours vpon any table, for that otherwise offense will easily be taken by one or other".¹¹

Accordingly, when the Benefactors Register was eventually published, gifts were recorded strictly in chronological order, with university scholars of modest means accredited as worthy donors alongside high-ranking noblemen, whose titles were carefully set down. It had long been the case that centres of learning blurred the boundaries between social ranks by means of an intellectual hierarchy that nestled alongside and exerted influence upon the standard social order. The Benefactors Register emphasised—notably, in the form of a book—the extent to which, through public displays of gift-giving, a library could be an inclusive space for patronage, dependent upon all lovers of learning regardless of social standing.

The enthusiasm shown by both university men and other types of individual to participate in the ritual of exchange precipitated by Bodley's announcement to restore the library is highlighted by a letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, sent in March 1598:

Your friend Mr. Bodley has sent down to the University to signify his intentions to furnish their library, and his liberality has received very good acceptance and thanks by public letters. He is daily expected at Oxford to make good his word; the matter is generally approved here in the shire, and every man bethinks himself how by some good book or other he may be written in the scroll of the benefactors. My cousin Dormer would have been reckoned among the first, but his wife dissuaded him, and told him it would be ascribed to some planet which possessed all men with a sudden humour.¹²

Carleton's observation that "every good man" desired to donate "some good book or other", should be set against the backdrop of the long-standing convention of the book as gift, established as a respected form

register in imitation of the Bodleian's. I am grateful to William Poole for alerting me to this point.

¹¹ Bodley to James, June 30 1604, in Wheeler, *Letters to James*, p. 93.

¹² Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 6 March 1598, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series -1601*, p. 35. The Dormer mentioned by Carleton is his cousin, Sir Michael Dormer, who, ignoring his wife's advice, donated sixty-three books to the library in 1603, some ten of which were on mathematical or natural philosophical subjects, including Piccolomini's *Filosofia Naturale* (1551), Catani's *Pratiche delle due prime Mathematiche* (1546), and Munster's *Rudimenta Mathematica* (1531). For Dormer's donation see Bodleian Library, *Benefactors Register*, fols. 73–4, and William D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), pp. 16 and 30.

of high-status, literate exchange. Writing in 1515, for example, Erasmus noted:

Friends of the commonplace and homespun sort ... favor a frequent exchange of rings, knives, caps and other tokens of this kind ... But you and I, whose idea of friendship rests wholly in a meeting of minds ... greet one another [with] keepsakes of a literary description.¹³

We should note, however, that the gift of a book was esteemed not only for its inherent intellectual content, but also for its material value. As surviving probate records show, books were often the most valuable possessions of university scholars, making the donation of such objects a pecuniary as well as intellectually munificent gesture.¹⁴ Strikingly, this quality is played out in the distinctions between the donations Bodley received from wealthy nobles and those coming from less affluent university scholars. While the former more often than not donated money to the library, being content to have books bought in their name, university scholars were the most frequent donors of books themselves, presumably tomes they had extracted from their own private libraries.

II

This brings us to the sources that may be used to identify the books donated, the first and most important of which is Bodley's 'public record' of gratitude for donations: the Benefactors Register (printed in 1604 and enlarged in manuscript thereafter). The Register records, in chronological order, the names of donors and their gifts, whether cash to buy books (the titles of which were listed), books themselves, or other items, such as mathematical instruments. We should note that the Register is not a comprehensive record of all gifts received, since Bodley (who proved to be a

¹³ Erasmus, dedication of book of metaphors to Pieter Gilles in 1515, quoted in Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 60. As an example of this sort of exchange in the period's English scientific community, when John Dee returned from his extended stay on the continent (between 1583 and 1590), he was presented with a book by Thomas Harriot as a mark of their friendship. See Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, p. 136. On the book as gift in England see Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁴ See, for example, the University of Cambridge probate inventories analysed by Elizabeth Leedham-Green in *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) and the Oxford records at <http://plre.folger.edu/>.

highly astute and effective procurer of donations) chose not to include in it a number of smaller gifts, so as to encourage those donors to “increase their liberalitie”. In fact, other documents, such as Thomas James’s alphabetical list of donors between 1600 and 1611, may be used to compile a complete catalogue of benefactors’ names, but the Register is uniquely valuable in that it provides detailed bibliographical records of books donated, or bought in donors’ names.¹⁵ Thus, it may be sifted for information about the private libraries (and presumed intellectual interests) of the donors listed, in some cases providing the only surviving evidence for a given individual’s intellectual concerns.¹⁶

Of course, such evidence needs to be treated with caution, not least because the books listed as donated are not necessarily representative of a particular donor’s complete library. Indeed, in some cases the donations made may well represent gifts of unwanted books or duplicates, which appears to be the case in the Lumley donation of 1600. In some cases, however, such as the gift from Bodley’s close friend, the scholar William Gent of Gloucester Hall, the donation represents a gift of an apparently complete library, still pertinent to the donor’s intellectual pursuits. Gent formally requested access to the Bodleian following his donation of 407 books (377 of which were scientific, including many on medicine), pointing to “the necessity of those books to his labours”.¹⁷ It is difficult to tell whether Gent was representative of donors or exceptional in actually using the books that he gave. Owning a book need not imply interest in or familiarity with its contents, and in some cases it may be that the books listed as the gift of a particular benefactor were specially purchased with a donation to the Bodleian in mind, rather than being selected from an already existing library. It is here that the Bodleian’s current holdings prove useful, for once a title listed in the Benefactor’s Register has been identified in the library’s present catalogue, its shelf marks (almost always inscribed on the fly-leaf or title page) may be traced back to the first

¹⁵ Thomas James, ‘Index Alphabeticus designans nomina propria cognominaque eorum complectens qui Bibliothecam Publicam libris aut pecuniis numeratis ad libros comendos alione quovis genere ampliarum’ (1600–11), Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden A. 75. This document lists donors’ names, amounts of cash given, and numbers of books donated (ordered by size of book), although it does not give titles.

¹⁶ This point is made by Feingold, who cites William Gent’s entry in the Benefactors Register (*Mathematicians’ Apprenticeship*, pp. 116–119).

¹⁷ No record other than the Benefactors Register book-list indicates Gent’s scientific interests, as is the case for many of the figures listed here. It is possible that, like John Nidd, “he never practised [medicine] in which he was certainly not formally qualified”: Leedham-Green and McKitterick, ‘Ownership: Private and Public libraries’, p. 327.

printed catalogue of 1605. This indicates whether or not the title concerned was in the library by that date, helping us to associate (with a sufficient degree of certainty) extant books with those listed in the Register. These books may then be studied for evidence of provenance, such as an ownership inscription or a book badge on the binding. (Illustrations 2.1 and 2.2) In the case of the Bodleian, the former is more reliable when seeking to link a book to a given donor, since gifted books were often rebound when they entered the library, in many cases so that the insignia of the benefactor could be displayed on the books given or purchased in their name.

Studying extant identifiable donations has, of course, a further purpose: attending to what William Sherman has called the “roles of readers as manifested in concrete practices and their artefactual traces”, for which



Illustration 2.1. Front-cover book badge of George Carey, Baron Hunsdon. From his donated copy of Conrad Gesner, *Historia animalium* (Tubingen: 1551). [Bodleian Library, Oxford, G 1.7(1) Med.]



Illustration 2.2. Rear-cover book badge of George Carey, Baron Hunsdon. From his donated copy of Bernardino Telesio, *De rerum natura* (Naples: 1586). [Bodleian Library, Oxford, M 6.10(1) Art.]

the principal surviving source is marginalia.¹⁸ A decent portion of those extant scientific books that can be identified as titles listed in the Benefactors Register contain marginalia. The majority of these derive from book—as opposed to cash—donations to the library, largely as a result of Bodley's strict acquisition policy. Bodley frequently repeated his preference for clean copies in his correspondence with his librarian, complaining, for example, about some “ill bound” books, “noted in the

¹⁸ William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), p. 29. See also Sherman's *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). As Feingold has noted, many English university-trained men of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have left little direct evidence of their studies, scientific or otherwise. Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, p. 106. A number of the instances of marginalia by Oxford and Cambridge graduates recorded here supplement Feingold's excellent and thorough study of surviving student notebooks of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, pp. 98–102).

margin, or otherwise touched, of which I sent some in the first chestes, for which I sent better copies in my last". Likewise, in March 1602 he explained that "Tullies [i.e. Cicero's] workes were bought of Ascanius for Sir Ro[bert] Sidney, being bounde before at Paris: but those marginal notes were nether obserued by me nor Mr Sauile, who was at the choos-ing".¹⁹ Some of the marginalia in the extant copies I have identified was added by the books' donors, in other instances by earlier owners, but both enable us to track specific evidence of period reading, rather than simply ownership, of scientific books.

This raises the issue of whether the scientific books donated were actually read once they entered the Bodleian. Does the evidence confirm Nicholas Tyacke's assertion that the Bodleian's policy of book acquisition provided Oxford with a "more permanent base" for scientific enthusiasm by 1620? In 1619, Bodley's friend and adviser, Sir Henry Savile, endowed the University's first professorships in Geometry and Astronomy, which Tyacke privileges with providing a regular readership for the relevant books then in the Bodleian collections, noting: "Books on the shelves are one thing, readers are another".²⁰ The Savilian professorships, and ensuing lectures in geometry and astronomy, doubtless increased demand for books in these subjects, but it is clear that as soon as the Bodleian opened its doors a variety of readers with scientific interests availed themselves of its up-to-date resources.

This may be deduced from the meticulous list of readers compiled by Thomas James over the course of a full year, beginning in November 1602, in which he specified the reader's name, college affiliation (where relevant), date, and time (morning or afternoon) of entry. Notably, readers for this period included a number of benefactors whose donations indicate an interest in scientific subjects. For instance, the mathematician Thomas Allen visited the library ten times between December and July, the physician Richard Haydocke a total of seven from November 1602 to October 1603, while the scholar Edward James (whose donation is discussed

¹⁹ Bodley to James, 29 July 1601 and 17 March 1602, in Wheeler, *Letters to James*, pp. 12 and 33. A two-volume copy of the 1566 Aldine edition of Cicero's *Opera Omnia* (now C 7.3.21, 22), with Sidney's arms on the binding, bears only a few minor corrections in the margins. It may be that this copy was purchased to replace a more heavily annotated copy, as described by Bodley in his letter.

²⁰ Tyacke, 'Science and Religion', p. 246. On Savile's scientific activities see Robert Goulding, 'Studies on the Mathematical and Astronomical Papers of Sir Henry Savile (1549–1622)' (unpublished PhD. Diss., Warburg Institute, 1999).

below), visited some fifty-eight times during the year.²¹ Noted figures in Oxford's natural philosophical and mathematical circles such as Allen's pupil Brian Twyne, John Budden, and Henry Pink (later Warden of New College) also used the library during this period. Moreover, scientifically active individuals from outside Oxford, such as the astronomer Thomas Lydiat and the mathematician John Blagrove, author of an important instrumental treatise *The Mathematicall Jewel* (1585), made use of the Bodleian at this time.

III

What kinds of scientific books, though, did these figures find in the library? To give an indication of the scientific material in the early Bodleian, I shall present briefly three case studies of donors of scientific books before 1605, drawn from across the social and professional spectrum. In each case, the titles listed in the record of their donation suggest more than passing interest in the sciences. The first case is a noble donor who, unusually, gave books rather than money: George Carey, Baron Hunsdon. The second is Edward James, Oxford scholar and brother to the library's first keeper, Thomas James. The third is Bodley's cousin and executor, the lawyer William Hakewill.

George Carey

George Carey, second Baron Hunsdon and patron of Shakespeare's theatrical troupe, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, gave a small but choice collection of scientific books—some thirty titles in all—as part of his 224-title donation to the Bodleian in 1600.²² This made him the second-most generous donor of scientific books in that year, but the Benefactors Register is the only evidence we have of his scientific interests. Of the scientific books Carey donated, I have identified some twenty-one as still extant in the Bodleian, mostly in bindings stamped with his book badge (Illustrations 2.1 and 2.2). These bindings, like those of books purchased on behalf of noble patrons who offered monetary gifts, were undertaken by the Oxford binders Dominick Pinart and Edward Miles, as well as a number of

²¹ Bodleian Library, MS Library Records d. 599, fols. 3^v, 7^v, 8^v. It should be noted that in its early years the Bodleian was not used by undergraduates but rather by established scholars or those reading for higher degrees.

²² On Carey, see Macray, *Annals*, p. 20 and note. 1.

anonymous London binders personally supervised by Bodley himself.²³ On occasion, the book badge or arms of the financial donor was stamped over the original binding rather than the entire book being rebound. Presentation, as well as content, was clearly important to Bodley, who noted the imperfect condition of the bindings of Carey's donation, writing to James in July 1601:

Withall I could wishe, that yow kept secret to your self, whatsoeuer defectes or imperfections, yow may finde among the bookes in the binding, or otherwise, as yow sawe there were many in the binding of my L. Chamberlaines [i.e. Carey]. For it may well be that all suche errorrs and defectes will be, vpon your report, talked of more and otherwise, then were meete.²⁴

As we might expect of a well-educated nobleman, all but one of the scientific titles Carey donated were in Latin, and a third were in folio. They range from works on astronomy and cosmography to mathematics, instrumentalism, natural history, medicine, and learned magic, including standards such as Sacrobosco's *De sphaera mundi*, Nunes's *De erratis Orontii Finaei*, Matthioli's natural historical works, and Ambroise Paré's *Opera*. A small number of books on magic were also donated, including the 1550 edition of Agrippa's *De goetia et necromantia* and the 1567 edition of his *De occulta philosophia*. Carey's scientific interests were clearly broad and, as the books themselves indicate, genuine. A number of the titles he donated, including his copies of Taisnier's *De natura magnetis* (1562), Tunstall's *De arte supputandi* (1522), and Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia* are annotated in a number of hands. A comparison between these notes and autograph manuscripts by Carey in the British Library reveals that one of the hands is most probably his own. Occasionally, his annotations take the form of an expression of interest in particular passages, which are underlined, or fuller marginal comments (particularly extensive in the Agrippa, which would repay further attention for the reception of that controversial text in Renaissance England).

Two books from Carey's donation stand out as particularly noteworthy. The first is a fine and, for England at this date, very rare hand-coloured copy of Gesner's *Historia animalium* (1551) (Illustration 2.3), the presence of which disproves the oft-repeated assertion that the first hand-coloured book to enter the Bodleian was a copy of John Gerard's English *Herbal*,

²³ On the binding of books for the library see Wheeler, *Letters to James*, pp. xvi–xvii and *passim*.

²⁴ Bodley to James, 16 July 1601, in Wheeler, *Letters to James*, p. 9.

donated in 1601 by Bodley's principal bookseller, John Norton.²⁵ Another unusual item, given Carey's mainly Latin reading, was a copy of Leonard Digges's vernacular instrument book, *Pantometria* (1591).²⁶ That Carey should have owned an English-language treatise on practical mathematics is of itself interesting. Notably, the book in question was Leonard's son Thomas's own copy, bearing his signature and family motto on the title page.²⁷

Edward James

My second case study is Edward James, brother to Bodley's Librarian, Thomas, and uncle to Richard James, one of Oxford's most prominent



Illustration 2.3. Hand-coloured woodcut of a rhinoceros, from George Carey's donated copy of Conrad Gesner, *Historia animalium* (Tubingen: 1551), [Bodleian Library, Oxford, G 1.7(1) Med, p. 953]

²⁵ Benefactors Register, fol. 36. On Norton's donation see Barnard, 'Politics, Profits and Idealism'. Besides the fact that Norton's donation is listed subsequent to Carey's in the Register, in 1603 Bodley requested James to "send me hither Mr Norton's Herball, for which he hath present, and very special vse", since he (Bodley) had been "assured of an other as good, or rather better": Bodley to James, 6 May 1603, in Wheeler, *Letters to James*, p. 84.

²⁶ Now H 4.20(2) Art.

²⁷ The inscription reads: 'Uictrix tandem triumphabit ueritas Tho. Digges.' Thomas edited and expanded upon his father's works, including *Pantometria*.

scholars in the first half of the seventeenth century, whose associates included Thomas Allen, Sir Kenelm Digby, Brian Twyne, Sir Henry Wotton, and John Selden.²⁸ While both Richard and Thomas James's activities are well known, their relation Edward's are a little more obscure. Matriculating at Corpus Christi in December 1587, Edward graduated MA in 1594, proceeding to Doctor of Divinity in 1614.²⁹ Bodley's letters to Thomas James make frequent reference to Edward, who seems to have been involved with the management of the library. For example, he was asked by Bodley to collaborate with his brother on devising inscriptions and donors' titles for the Benefactors Register, and assisted in compiling the 1605 catalogue.³⁰ James's donation of thirty-two books to the Bodleian in 1601, esteemed by Bodley as "aboue the rest [of the donors] of very good worth", included some sixteen titles that indicate scientific interests.

Mathematics is well represented in his gift, totalling six titles that included Bernard Salignac's *Arithmeticae libri due & Algebrae totidem* (1580), Simon Stevin's *Problematum geometricorum* (1583) and works by the noted French mathematicians Oronce Fine, Jean Trenchant, Pierre Forcardel, and Jean Fernel. (Illustration 2.4) An interest in natural history is suggested by a copy of Salviani's lavishly illustrated and expensive folio, *Historia aquilatum animalium* (1554), while medicine and alchemy are represented by works by Felix Platter, Pietro Bairo, and Thomas Erastus. Several books from his donation are currently extant in the Bodleian, a number of which bear both his signature and extensive marginalia, most notably in Bairo's *De medendis humani corporis malis* (1560) and Salignac's *Arithmeticae*, to which he added his own symbols and extensions to the foldout branching diagram of algebra.

William Hakewill

My third and final case study is William Hakewill, Bodley's cousin and executor, who in 1602 donated one manuscript and thirty-five printed books, twenty-two of which (including the manuscript) were scientific. Born in 1574, William was the brother of George Hakewill, whose *An apologie of the power and providence of God in the government of the world* (1627) brought numerous mathematical and technological subjects to a

²⁸ On Richard James see Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, pp. 73–4.

²⁹ See Sears Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), p. 144.

³⁰ Edward also seems to have been on friendly terms with Bodley himself, visiting him at home on several occasions. See Wheeler, *Letters to James*, pp. 32, 45, 148 and *passim*.



Illustration 2.4. Ownership inscription of Edward James, from his donated copy of Bernard Salignac, *Arithmeticae libri duo, et algebrae totidem* (Frankfurt: 1580). [Bodleian Library, Oxford, 4° S 6(1) Art.]

new, English audience, and which also praised “such great wits & *Heroicall* spirits as Sir *Thomas Bodley*, and Sir *Henry Sauill*”.³¹ Having studied at Exeter College in 1600, William entered Lincoln’s Inn the following year. His wife, Elizabeth, was a niece of Sir Francis Bacon. Serving as MP for several Cornish constituencies, Hakewill’s main preoccupation was with ancient property rights. Indeed, none of his biographers have suggested any sort of scientific preoccupations, yet the books donated imply a strong interest in mathematics, especially geometry, instrumentalism, and applied mathematics.

In stark contrast to Carey’s and, to a lesser extent, James’s donations, Hakewill’s gift of scientific books (almost all of which are still in the Bodleian, several with annotations) was overwhelmingly vernacular in nature. This was due in part to the subject matter of the texts he donated, which are mainly continental publications on practical mathematics and instrumentalism, including works on navigation by Cortes and Medina, and measuring treatises by Besson and Foullon. It is notable that a number of his scientific books treat surveying and building, as in April 1631 he was appointed to the large commission for the repair of St Paul’s Cathedral. Hakewill showed so much interest in the project that he was appointed to the smaller working committee in 1634. Books from his donation such as Cosimo Bartoli’s *Del modo di misurare le distantie* (1564) and Silvio Belli’s *Libro del misurar con la vista* (1569) indicate Hakewill’s early interest in activities of this sort. Hakewill also donated an important manuscript, listed in the Benefactors Register as “Memorial nuoua come si crede di Nic. Tartalea. 4. MS”. The manuscript, now MS Bodley 584, contains a record in Girolamo Cardano’s hand titled “Questo me era domandato a messer nicolo tartalia. Mille Cinquecento trenta-nove. a dj sette de settembre e che el medico da millano non potria soluer”.³² The majority of the manuscript comprises mathematical notes taken from “fra luca”, i.e. Luca Pacioli’s mathematical treatises, which are probably also by Cardano. It is not known how Hakewill acquired such an item, but his possession of it—along with Tartaglia’s seminal *Nova scientia* (1537) and *Quesiti et inventioni* (1546)—demands further study of the relationship between English and Italian mathematical circles in the sixteenth and early seventeenth

³¹ George Hakewill, *An apologie of the power and providence of God in the government of the world* (Oxford: John Lichfield and William Turner, 1627), b2^r.

³² Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 584, fol. 12^r. On the Cardano-Tartaglia dispute see Mary [Henninger-]Voss, ‘Between the Cannon and the Book: Mathematicians and Military Culture in Cinquecento Italy’, unpublished PhD. Diss. (Johns Hopkins University, 1994).

centuries, which have to date largely focused on John Dee's visit to the Urbinate mathematician Federico Commandino in 1563.

IV

It is important to note that from very early on Bodleian users interested in the sciences could avail themselves of resources other than just printed books and manuscripts for their studies: namely, scientific instruments.³³ A number of instruments were donated or provided for the Bodleian in its early years, the first being a pair of celestial and terrestrial globes, commissioned by Bodley himself. June 1601 saw Bodley earnestly deliberating with James over the necessary components for the globes, asking

... howe the globecase of Alsowls college is fashioned, and howe it is drawn vp and downe. Whether it be counterpoised with a weight, and howe muche it may weigh: whether the pulley be of iron, or timber: whether the case rest close to the table wheron it standeth, or it haue feete for the better taking vp: and what yow list besides. For I must heere provide all these thinges, doubting in Oxford, I shall nether haue the pleasure, nor meanes, to haue any thing well done.³⁴

It is interesting to note Bodley's doubts that the city of Oxford could supply the artisanal expertise necessary for such a task, turning instead to the more sophisticated and cosmopolitan London community. As Feingold has noted, ownership of globes and their use in education was becoming increasingly common by the early seventeenth century, and Bodley's provision is clearly part of this trend.³⁵ Indeed, the decades leading up to the Civil War witnessed numerous donations of such objects to libraries. On graduating from Christ Church in 1618, Michael Barkely presented the College Library with a pair of globes "in gratiam studiorum mathematicae", while by 1638 the mathematical library founded in the mid 1630s by Archbishop Laud as part of his building works at St John's

³³ For a slightly later example of the relationship between instruments and books in the Bodleian, see my "Curious and Useful Buildings": the 'Mathematical Model' of Sir Clement Edmondes', *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2004), pp. 108–150.

³⁴ Bodley to James, 17 June 1601, in Wheeler, *Letters to James*, p. 8.

³⁵ Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, *passim*. See also E. Craster, 'Elizabethan Globes at Oxford', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 117 (1951), pp. 24–6. On the furnishing of libraries with instruments in continental Europe, see my *Between Raphael and Galileo: Mutio Oddi and the Mathematical Culture of Late Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 133.

boasted a pair of globes, in addition to numerous mathematical books and instruments, and a pair of human skeletons.³⁶

The first donation of instruments to the Bodleian Library came in 1601, from Thomas Bodley's brother, Sir Josias Bodley. According to Wood, Josias (born around 1550) studied for a short time at Merton College before serving in the Netherlands in the late 1590s.³⁷ The remainder of his career, up to his death in 1618, was spent in military service in Ireland, where he served as governor of several regions and as superintendent of castles from 1607, becoming director general of fortifications in 1612. His renown as a fortifications designer and his engineering skill imply proficiency in mathematics, indeed his numerous reports on Irish fortifications show evidence of familiarity with surveying techniques.

These abilities are perhaps reflected by his gift of five instruments to the Bodleian, listed in the Register as "Anulus Astron[omicus] aeneus, Sphaera aeneus, Quadrans Astron[omicus] aeneus [et] Circini & Regul[a] Astron[omicae] aneae".³⁸ The third item listed in the Register, a "Quadrans Astron[omicus] aeneus" is a fine gilt-brass surveying quadrant of about thirteen square inches, now in the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford.³⁹ It is decorated with an ornamental border of figures engaged in taking altitudes, bearing the inscription "Christophorus Schissler geometricus ac astronomicus artifex Augustae Vindelicorum faciebat anno Domini 1579". The provenance of the instrument is unknown prior to its donation by Josias, but it is considered one of the German master's finest creations. Though not specified in the Register, the quadrant was accompanied by a plumb level and clinometer, probably of German manufacture though not by Schissler.⁴⁰ Both were presented in an early seventeenth century case, which until the late eighteenth century was kept in the wooden stand of the second item listed in the Register, the "Sphaera aeneus".

This entry refers to the large Italian armillary sphere, acquired by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, now also in Oxford's Museum of the

³⁶ Tyacke, 'Science and Religion', pp. 245 and 252.

³⁷ For Josias's biography see Winthrop Pakenham-Walsh, 'Captain Sir Josias Bodley, Director-General of fortifications in Ireland', *The Royal Engineers Journal*, vol. 8, no. 4 (1908), pp. 253–264.

³⁸ Bodleian Library, *Benefactors Register*, fol. 35.

³⁹ Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, inventory no. 48659. See Robert T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), vol. 1, pp. 340–4.

⁴⁰ See Gunther, *Early Science*, pp. 327–8.

History of Science.⁴¹ It is not clear how Josias came to acquire the sphere, as there is no surviving record of Northumberland having given it to him nor, indeed, of any substantial contact between the two men. It has been suggested that Percy may have sold the sphere in 1600, when raising money for the Flanders expedition, or it may be that he always intended the instrument for the Bodleian, entrusting it to Josias to pass on to his brother.⁴² However, given Thomas Bodley's acute sensitivity to identifying correctly the donors of specific gifts, the misattribution of a gift to his own brother from such a high-ranking patron and close acquaintance as Percy is difficult to explain. It should be noted also that although listed in the Register as being donated in 1601, the sphere did not actually arrive until 1613, when a payment of two shillings was made on 27 March for "bringing ye yron chest & ye brasen sphere from London".⁴³ The date coincides with Josias's visit to England for the funeral of his brother, who died in January of that year.

As Adrian Johns has noted, books of natural philosophy and mathematics were often distributed "along with accompanying devices such as sectors, globes and models of the heavens", highlighting the risk of anachronism in the modern rare-books library, which "tends to isolate the books from these materials".⁴⁴ The Bodleian's earliest users would doubtless have seen the scientific books and instruments at their disposal as belonging to the same set of scholarly tools. For instance, Schissler's quadrant could have been used in conjunction with books donated by Carey, such as Digges's *Pantometria* or Jean de Merliers's *Quarré geometrique*, donated by Hakewill. Likewise, the armillary sphere would have been a useful instantiation of the Ptolemaic celestial principles espoused in many of the astronomical texts donated, and would doubtless have proved particularly valuable to the players of William Fulke's *Ouranomachia*, donated by Carey: a game which served to "rehearse for its players the celestial motions and astrological principles described by Ptolemy".⁴⁵

⁴¹ Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, inventory no. 70229.

⁴² Gerard L'E Turner, *Elizabethan Instrument Makers: The Origins of the London Trade in Precision Instrument Making* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 272.

⁴³ 'A Book of Accompts for y^e Librarie since S^r Thomas death A^o 1613', Bodleian Library, Library Records E. 3, fol. 3^r.

⁴⁴ Adrian Johns, 'Science and the Book,' in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, pp. 274–303, at p. 279.

⁴⁵ See Ann Meyer, 'The Astronomers' Game: Astrology and University Culture in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Early Science and Medicine*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1999), pp. 228–50, at p. 250.

As Bodley noted, the delicate management of library building necessitated “goode speede ... conueniencie, fitte time, and good manners”. Studying the development of his library offers fertile ground for assessing not only the social relationships embedded in private benefaction and public thanks, but also the relationships between books and objects, owners and readers, even print and knowledge. Thus, if we are truly to appreciate the relevance of the Bodleian to the sciences in late Renaissance England, it is imperative that we address ourselves to the study not only of donors, books, and readers, but also to the wider culture of practice and to the uses to which reading could be put beyond the library’s confines.

Appendix: *Scientific Books Donated to the Bodleian Library by George Carey (1600), Edward James (1601), and William Hakewill (1602)*

Identifications derive from the 1605 and 1620 printed catalogues of the Bodleian Library, as well as the current on-line catalogue.

George Carey

Ambroise Paré, *Opera...* (Paris, 1582), in-fol. Not in Bod.

Bernardino Telesio, *De rerum natura* (Naples, 1586), in-fol. Now M 6.10(1) Art. With Carey’s book badge.⁴⁶

Ibn Abi al-Rijal, Abu al-Hassan ‘Ali, *Liber de iudiciis astrorum* (Basel, 1551), in-fol. Now [poss.] D 8.2 Art.

Gerard de Jode, *Speculum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1578), in-fol. Not in Bod.

Conrad Gesner, *Historia animalium* (Tubingen, 1551), in-fol. Now G 1.7(1) Med.

Pietro Andrea Mattioli, *Opera...* (Frankfurt, 1598), in-fol. Now [poss.] B 1. 15. Med.

Johannes de Sacrobosco, *De sphaera mundi* (Venice, 1508), in fol. Not in Bod. [but 1518 is D 8.1 (2) Art].

Pedro Nunes, *De erratis Orontii Finaei* (Coimbra, 1546), in-4°. Not in Bod.

Peter Apian, *Quadrans astrolabicus* (Ingolstadt, 1532), in-fol. Not in Bod.

Joseph Scaliger, *Cyclometria elementa duo* (Leiden, 1596), in-fol. Not in Bod.

⁴⁶ Bound with Ioannis Alexandrei, *Philosophi in tres libros de anima aristotelis breues annotationes* (1547). In Carey’s binding with his book badges front and rear.

Leonard Digges, *Pantometria* (London, 1591), in-fol. Now H 4.20(2) Art.
Earlier provenance.

Jean Taisnier, *De natura magnetis* (Cologne, 1562), in-4°. Now A 9.9(1)
Linc. Marginalia.

Id., *De motu continuo*... [as above].

Id., *Demonstratio proportionum motuum localium, contra Aristotelem & alios*... [as above].

Id., *De Motu alio celerrimo hactenus ignoto*... [as above].

Joannes Scheubelius, *Algebrae compendiosa facilisque descriptio* (Paris, 1552), in-4°. Now A 9.9(2) Linc.

Thomas Radinus Tadischus, *Sideralis Abyssus* (Paris, 1514), in-4°. Now A 9.9(3) Linc.

William Fulke, *Ouranomachia, hoc est, Astrologorum lusus* (London, 1571), in-4°. Now A 9.9(4) Linc.

Heinrich Loris, *De geographia* (Freiburg, 1539), in-4°. Now A 9.9(6) Linc.

Cuthbert Tunstall, *De arte supputandi libri quattuor* (London, 1522), in-4°. Now A 9.9(8) Linc.

Peter Apian and Gemma Frisius, *Cosmographia* (Antwerp, 1584), in-4°. Now 4° C 128 Art.

Gregor Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* (Strasbourg, 1508), in-4°. Now [poss.] BB 99 Art.

Petrus Severinus, *Ideae medicinae* (Basel, 1571), in-4°. Now 4° S 1 Med.

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia* (Paris, 1567), in-8°. Now 8° A 2. Marginalia.

Id., *De goetia et necromantia* (Paris, 1550), in-8°. Not in Bod.

Petrus de Abano, *Elementa magica* [Part of Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*].

Commentarius in 1. & 2. cap. l. 30. Plinij de Magia naturali [Part of Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*].

Disputatio de Fascinationibus [Part of Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*].

Johannes Trithemius, *Quaestiones* [Part of Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*].

Johannes Trithemius, *Polygraphia* (Cologne, 1571), in-8°. Now 8° T 2 Art. Marginalia.

Franciscus Titelman, *De consideratione rerum naturalium* (Antwerp, 1561), in-8°. Not in Bod.

Edward James

Jean Fernel, *Ambianatis Cosmotheoria, libros duos complexa* (Paris, 1527), in-fol. Not in Bod.

- Oronce Fine, *De mundi sphaera* (Paris, 1542), in-fol. Now [poss.] M 4.14(5) Art.
- Oronce Fine, *Organum universale ex [supradicta] sinuum ratione contextum* [part of *De mundi sphaera*].
- Ya-Kub b. Ishak, al Kindi, *Alkindus de temporum mutationibus* (Paris, 1540), in-4°. Now [poss.] AA.23(1) Art.
- Firminus, *Repertorium de mutatione aeris* (Paris, 1539), in-4°. Now [poss.] AA.23(1) Art.
- Comment. Sphaerae Mundi cum quaestionibus P. de Allacio* [presumably Johannes de Sacrobosco, *Uerrimum sphere mundi comētū intersertis etiā questionibus dñi Petri de Aliaco*, 1498, in-fol]. Now [poss.] Auct. 2 Q 5.16.
- Ippolito Salviani, *Aquilatium animalium historiae* (Rome, 1554), in-fol. Now Z 4.3 Jur.
- Pierre Forcadel, *L'Arithmetique* (Paris, 1556), in-4°. Now 4° F.7. Art. Marginalia.⁴⁷
- Joachim Camerarius (ed. and trans.), *Astrologica quaedam opuscula...* (Nuremberg, 1532), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° F 7 Art.
- Joannes Werner, *Libellus...super vigintiduobus elementis conicis* (Nuremberg, 1522), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° V 9 Art.
- De alchymia opuscula varia*, in-4°. [unidentified].
- Jean Trenchant, *L'Arithmetique* (Lyons, 1558), in-8°. Now 8° T 7(1) Art. Marginalia (mathematical calculations).
- Giovan Battista Carello, *Ephemerides* (Venice, 1558), in-4°. Now 4° F 61 Art.⁴⁸
- Bernard Salignac, *Arithmeticae libri due, et algebrae totidem* (Frankfurt, 1580), in-4°. Now 4° S 6(1) Art.⁴⁹
- Simon Stevin, *Problemata geometrica* (Antwerp, 1583), in-4°. Now 4° E 5(2) Med.
- Pietro Bairo, *De medendis humani coporis malis enchiridion* (Basel, 1560), in-8°. Now 8° B 6 Med.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Inscribed 'Ed. James' on title-page.

⁴⁸ Inscribed 'Sum ex libri Ed James aedis christi oxoniensis' on title-page.

⁴⁹ Inscribed 'Ed. James' (twice) on title-page. Bound with [1] Patricio Tricasso, *Enarratio pulcherrima principiorum chyromantiae* (Nuremberg, 1560), signature 'Will[iam] Dun' on title-page (see his 1605 donation, Benefactors Register, fol. 97, Macray, *Annals*, p. 222), with motto above: 'Thy Will be Dun o Lorde'. Occasional Latin marginalia throughout early pages. [2] Johannes Kepler, *Somnium* (Frankfurt, 1634).

⁵⁰ Inscribed 'Ed. James aedis ch' on title-page. Extensive underlining and marginal notes throughout. Bound with Paracelsus, *Generosi omnique in scientiarum genere experisimi uiri...* (Basel, 1560).

Thomas Erastus, *Disputatio de auro potabili...* (Basel, 1578), in-8°. Now 8° E 2 Med.⁵¹

William Hakewill

Rembert Dodoens, *Historiae stirpium* (Antwerp, 1583), in-fol. Now D 1.10 Med.

Pedro de Medina, *Arte de nauegar* (Valladolid, 1545), in fol. Now [poss.] H 4.20(4) Art.

Martin Cortes, *Breue compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de nauegar, con nuevos instrumentos y reglas* (Seville, 1556). Now [poss.] H 4.20 Art.

Francesco Peverone, *Due breue e facili trattati, il primo d'arithmetica, l'altro di geometria* (Lyons, 1558), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° B 50(2) Art.

Francesco Feliciano, *Libro arithmetica et geometria* (Venice, 1560), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° T 31(2) Art.

Memorial nuoua come si crede di Nic. Tartalea. 4. MS. Now part of MS Bodley 584: Notes in Italian on Luca Pacioli's arithmetical and geometrical works, probably by Girolamo Cardano.

Pietro Cataneo, *Le pratiche delle due prime mathematiche* (Venice, 1559), in-4°. Now 4° C 63(3) Art.

Niccolò Tartaglia, *La nova scientia* (Venice, 1537), in-4°. Now 4° C 63(4) Art.

Giuseppe Ceredi, *Tre discorsi sopra il modo d'alzar acque da' luoghi bassi* (Parma, 1567), in-4°. Now 4° C 63 Art.

Nicodemus Frischlin, *Carmen de astronomico horologio Argentoratensi* (Strasbourg, 1575), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° B 45(3) Art.

Paulus Crusius, *Doctrina reuolutionum solis* (Jena, 1567), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° B 45(2) Art.

Jacques Besson, *Le cosmolabe* (Paris, 1567), in-4°. Now 4° C 63 Art.

Simon Duchesne, *Quadrature du cercle* (Delft, 1584), in-4°. Now 4° C 63(4) Art.

Vitale Zuccolo, *Dialogo delle cose meteorologiche* (Venice, 1590), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° Z 5 Art.

Ptolemy, *De innerantibus stellis* (Urbino, 1592), in-4°. Not in Bod.

Silvio Belli, *Della proportion e proportionalità* (Venice, 1573), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° B 7 Art.

⁵¹ Inscribed 'Ed. James aedis Chri' on title-page. Bound with [1] Ole Worm, *Liber aureus philosophorum aquilae Aristotelis de mundi fabrica* (Rostock, 1624) and [2] Felix Platter, *Questionum Medicarum...* (Basel, 1625).

Jean de Merliers, *L'usage du quarré geometrique* (Paris, 1573), in-4°. Only Selden copy in Bod.

Abel Foullon, *Descrittione et uso dell'holometro* (Venice, 1584), in-4°. Not in Bod.

Niccolò Tartaglia, *Quesiti et inventioni* (Venice, 1546), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° T 31(1) Art.

Silvio Belli, *Libro del misurar con la vista* (Venice, 1569), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° B 45(1) Art.

Alessandro Piccolomini, *La prima parte delle theoriche, o vero speculationi de i pianeti* (Venice, 1568), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° B 45(2) Art.

Cosimo Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare le distantie* (Venice, 1564), in-4°. Now [poss.] 4° S 53 Art.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LEGACY OF JOSEPHUS JUSTUS SCALIGER IN LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CATALOGUES, 1609–1716

Kasper van Ommen

The University of Leiden came into existence barely five months after the relief of Leiden from besieging Spanish forces. On 8 February 1575, Prince William ('the Silent') of Orange founded the new university as a gift to the city that had withstood Spain and its king, Philip II. That day a sumptuous pageant was held to celebrate the inauguration of the university. The various areas of learning were represented by allegorical figures and by important ancient authors who included Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil and Galen. Although the pageant was preceded by the Holy Scriptures and the four Apostles, the most noteworthy scene had a ship with Apollo and his nine Muses (*novem Musae*) that floated in the canal in front of the temporary seat of the university. With this representation, the newly founded university expressed a novel attitude towards learning and scholarship: the Holy Scriptures alone would not dictate the curriculum of the university, for the muses also would play their part in the education of students and scholars alike. The appearance of the muses was very much the work of Janus Dousa (1545–1604), one of the curators of the university, who had also played an important role in the defence of Leiden during the siege. His personal motto was '*Dulces ante omnia musae*' (the Muses above all things, delightful), taken from Virgil's *Georgica*. The role of Dousa during the early years of the university was significant, as was the role of Jan van Hout (1542–1609), secretary of the city of Leiden and a life-long friend of Dousa.

From 1581, the university was housed in the chapel of the Dominican convent or the Convent of the White Nuns on the Rapenburg. A motto placed in the pavement in front of the building read '*Musa coelo beat*' (the Muses rejoice in heaven). The muses were ready to play their part, but in the early years there were barely any professors involved in teaching, no students to educate, and no books to read. It was Dousa's flair for public relations and marketing, as we would describe these skills today, that led him to invite the great scholar Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) to Leiden in 1578, to enhance the status and novelty of the university. Dousa's plan worked, and students from all over Europe found their way to Leiden.

Scaliger and His Library

When Lipsius unexpectedly left for Louvain in the 1590s,¹ a substitute for this significant figure had to be found, and quickly; otherwise the young university would be lost. It was Dousa and Domenicus Baudius (1561–1613), a former student at the university, who suggested the French humanist Josephus Justus Scaliger be asked to come to Leiden.



Illustration 3.1. Jan. Cornelisz. van 't Woud, Portrait of Josephus Justus Scaliger, ca. 1608–1609. Oil on panel, 70 x 61 cm. [Senate room, Academy building, Leiden University]

¹ J. De Landtsheer et al., *Lieveling van de Latijnse taal. Justus Lipsius te Leiden herdacht bij zijn vierhonderste sterfdag* (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden/Scaliger Instituut, 2006).

At first this 'sixteenth-century Einstein' had no intention of leaving France and it was only after he was offered a huge salary (2200 *guilders* per annum) with no teaching obligations that he packed his books and travelled to Leiden, in 1593.² Again Dousa was proved right: the presence of Scaliger in Leiden was beneficial for the university and, eventually, also for its library. Scaliger made good use of the library collection and frequently praised it as '*magna commoditas*'.³ Since his youth, Scaliger had been building a library that he could use for his research on the classics and chronology. During his wandering years in France, when he was forced to move from castle to castle to avoid the civil strife, part of his own and his father's library, which had been left behind in Agen, was lost. When Scaliger moved to the Low Countries, he was able to take some of his books with him, but without doubt part of his library was left behind in France. During his stay in Leiden, Scaliger built a library consisting of some 2,000 books,⁴ and during his lifetime he donated books from this library to his pupils and friends, such as Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Domenicus Baudius.

Scaliger died in Leiden in 1609. In his will, drawn up a few years before his death, he had stipulated that his friends Mylius, Heinsius and Baudius to be allowed to choose a non-Oriental book in turn, until they had enough.⁵ His heir and former valet, Jonas Rousse, auctioned off the

² This characterisation of Scaliger was coined by professor Anthony Grafton in an interview published in issue 2 of *Omslag, bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut* of 2006. The significance of Scaliger's presence for the University of Leiden is well documented and described in P.C. Molhuysen, *De komst van Scaliger in Leiden* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-maatschappij, 1913) and *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, vol. 1: 1574–7 Febr. 1610 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913), and in W. Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met dame*, vol. 1: *Het bolwerk van de vrijheid: de Leidse universiteit, 1575–1672* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2000).

³ In conversation with Jean and Nicolas de Vassan, students in Leiden in 1606, Scaliger stated, "Est hic magna commoditas Bibliothecae, ut studiosi possint studere." See *Scaligerana, ou Bons mots, rencontres agréables et remarques judicieuses et sçavantes* (Cologne [Amsterdam?], 1695), p. 237 and the translation in G.W. Robinson, *Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1927).

⁴ H.J. de Jonge, *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger, a Facsimile Edition with an Introduction* (Utrecht: HES, 1977). The auction catalogue contains some 1,700 books, to which we have to add around 300 books that were given to Mylius, Heinsius, Baudius and other friends of Scaliger. De Jonge considers Scaliger's library modest in size.

⁵ UBL Codex Perizonii Q n. 5, fols. 39–44 contains Scaliger's 1607 Latin testament: "Nobilissimo viro Cornelio Mylio, huius Academiae curatori, item Heinsio, atque Baudio potestatem facio, quos velint libros de meis Graecis et Latinis eligere, ita ut post Mylium Heinsius, post Heinsium Baudius sequatur". Other scholars were also given parts of Scaliger's library; Gomarus, for instance, received a pile of Chinese paper. See H.J. de Jonge, 'The Latin Testament of Scaliger, 1607', *LIAS* 2 (1975), pp. 249–263.

reminder of the 'western' books in 1609.⁶ The only known copies of the catalogue from this auction are in the Royal Library of Copenhagen and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris.⁷ Leiden University Library bought some of Scaliger's annotated books, or *annotati*, at the auction, but more significantly Scaliger had bequeathed to the university the part of his library that consisted of "tous mes livres de langues estrangeres, Hebraics, Syriens, Arabics, Aethiopiens, lesquels livres sont contenus dans le Catalogue que j'ay adiousté a la copie latine de ce mien testament".⁸

Except for the Hebrew manuscripts and printed books of the theological *plutei*, up until 1609 the University Library had only a few 'Eastern' works.⁹ The Scaliger legacy therefore enriched the library with a large collection of non-Western books and manuscripts, along with some Greek and Latin manuscripts and two globes. Scaliger's bequest appears to have set a good example, for later in the seventeenth century the Oriental books and manuscripts of Levinus Warner (1619–1665) were added to the library's collections.¹⁰

The Arca Scaligeri

By a resolution of the trustees of the university of 8/10 February 1609, only 19 days after Scaliger had died, François II and Joost van Ravelingen, the executors of his will were ordered to deliver the Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Chaldean and other Oriental books that he had bequeathed to the library. Heinsius, the librarian, was charged with receiving the books and making an inventory; he was also authorised to make a closed cabinet in which the

⁶ "Quant aux livres qui resteront apres les sieurs Mylius, Heynsius, Baudius et autres miens amis [...] je viex que Jonas Rousse les vende à l'encan, et que l'argent qui en proviendra de la vente, soit totalement à luy". French testament of 1608. UBL Codex Perizonii Q n. 5, fols. 39–44.

⁷ For a complete bibliographic description of the *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Illust. Viri Iosephi Scaligeri* (Leiden: officina Thomae Basson, 1609) see B. van Selm, *Een menighe treffelijcke Boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HES, 1987), pp. 161–162. The copy in the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen is kept under shelf mark 79^{II}, 39, dl. I (4); the copy in the BnF is under shelf mark Q 226L. The copies of the catalogue in the libraries of Dresden and Kiel (the latter with annotations indicating buyers and prices) were both destroyed during the Second World War. See also the reprint with commentary by de Jonge, *The Auction Catalogue*.

⁸ UBL Codex Perizonii Q n. 5, fol. 39–44.

⁹ C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas. Geschiedenis van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek 1575–2000* (Leiden: Primavera, 2001), p. 79.

¹⁰ G.W.J. Drewes, *Levinus Warner and His Legacy: Three Centuries Legatum Warnerianum in the Leiden University Library: Catalogue of the Commemorative Exhibition Held in the Bibliotheca Thysiana from April 27th till May 15th 1970* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

41

diquels ce qui est de nos, touchés
 Jargon, acquies, Jonas, Rous, le
 pedum pour lui, et de faire son propre.

Tous sont la bibliothèque, laquelle
 selon mon petit faculté en la li-
 brerie foyenir, en l'ayoir a l'Académie
 de cette ville de Leyden tous mes li-
 vres de langues et étrangères, hébraïcs,
 Syriens, Arabes, Ethiopiens, lesquels
 livres sont contenus dans le Catalogue
 que j'ay adossé à la copie latine
 de ce même testament, et que j'en-
 tendus à l'ère une partie où appendu-
 re de mon dit testament, où l'ordre
 de Supplément en façon de codicille.
 Le Catalogue de tous les livres de ma
 Bibliothèque dont j'en distribue d'après
 qu'il m'a semblé bon à mes amis
 en une copie, que j'ay fait signer au
 Notaire devant témoins, lequel copie
 en un lieu qu'il ait l'usage de
 codicille, et dans mon poux-piteo-
 uard, sur lequel j'ay accoustumé
 d'écrire. J'ay mis à part les Esti-
 mées de mon Père, sur lequel les com-
 munitaires is Academiens de l'histoire

Illustration 3.2. Extract from Scaliger's last will and testament. f. 41r: stipulations regarding Scaliger's private library. [Leiden University Library, MS Perizonianus Q5, f. 39-44]

collection should be contained.¹¹ He shelved Scaliger's bequest separately from other books and manuscripts in the so-called *Arca Scaligeri*. It is not entirely clear who gave the name *Arca Scaligeri* to the cabinet that housed Scaliger's bequest, but it is plausible that Heinsius was responsible.

Heinsius was involved with a new edition of the satires of Horace, which was published by Elsevier in 1612.¹² In this work, we can read the

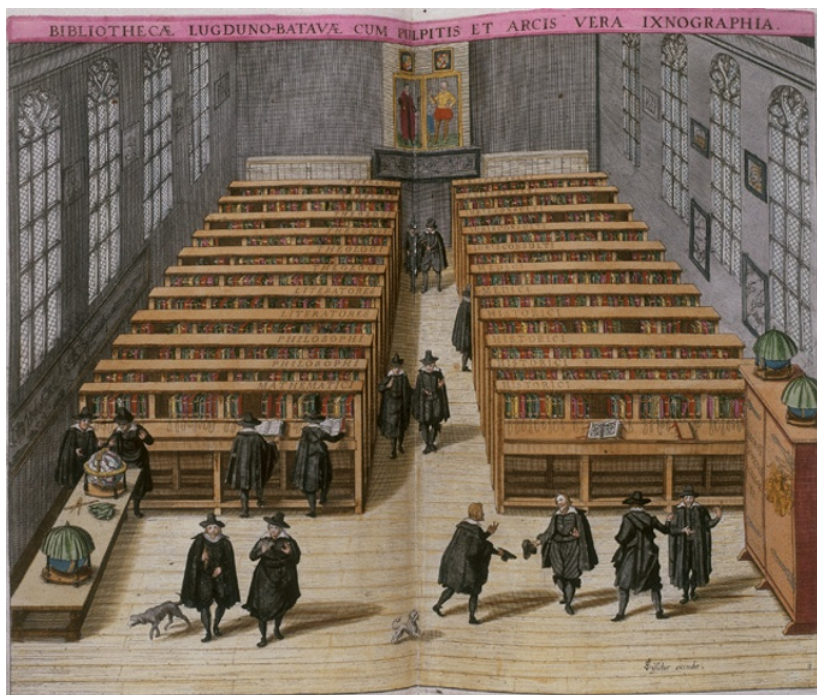


Illustration 3.3. Willem van Swanenburgh after Johannes Cornelisz. Woudanus, Leiden University Library, engraving, 1610, 330 x 400 mm. On the foreground on the right is the *Arca Scaligeri*. [Collection Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam]

¹¹ Resoluties van Curatoren 8/10 februari 1609: 'Heynsius by desen expresselyck wort geauthoriseert, met last om opte bibliotheecque te doen maecken een casse op hem selven ende aldaer besloten in te stellen de voors. boecken, ende mede dat de voors. Heynsius aen de C. ende B. sal leveren dubbelt van de voors. catalogue ofte inventaris om onder de papyren ende chartres van de voors. C. ende B. bewaert te worden', in Mollhuysen, *De komst van Scaliger in Leiden*, p. 183. This catalogue or inventory is not to be found among the documents of the trustees.

¹² *Q. Horatii Flacci opera. Cum animaduersionibus & notis Danielis Heinsii; longe auctoribus; Idem librum De satyra praefixit, in quo tota auctoris eruditio explicatur* (Leiden: Ludovicus Elsevier, 1612).

following: “Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo. Ipse domi simul ac nummos contemplar in arca” (“The people hiss me, but I applaud myself as I count the money in my chest” or “The public hisses at me, but I applaud myself in my own house and simultaneously contemplate the money in my chest”; Book I, Satire 1). Like the funeral monument erected for Scaliger in de Vrouwekerk, the *arca* was dedicated to Scaliger’s scholarly fame, which counterbalanced his family’s lost claim to nobility.¹³ The similarity in meaning of the *Arca Scaligeri* in Leiden and the *Arche scaligire*, the medieval tombs of the Della Scala family of Verona, is striking. Also in this case there is a relationship between Scaliger the scholar and Scaliger the nobleman. Though there may not be a connection between the *arca* of Scaliger and the biblical ark, the term *arca* is strongly connected with reading and studying Holy Scripture.¹⁴ The impression arose that only bequests, and not regular acquisitions, could be stored in a cabinet designated an ‘*arca*’. When Senguerdus described the manuscripts bought from Vulcanius in the catalogue of 1716 as a ‘bequest’, he did so because these manuscripts were stored (and described as such for the first time in the catalogue of 1623) in the so-called *Arca Vulcanii*. Clearly there was some misunderstanding about the concept of an *arca*.¹⁵

The Content of the Bequest

It remains unclear which of the books that belonged to Scaliger arrived at the University Library in 1609. In 1741 the librarian David van Royen (1727–1799) decided to incorporate Scaliger’s books and manuscripts into the normal shelving system, but not before he ordered a strip of paper to be pasted into each work with the inscription *Ex Legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scaligeri*.¹⁶ Van Royen undoubtedly meant well, but this decision has led to

¹³ K. van Ommen, ‘Een epitaaf voor Josephus Justus Scaliger, sieraad van de Academie’, in E. den Hartog and J. Veerman, eds., *De Pieterskerk in Leiden. Bouwgeschiedenis, inrichting en gedenktekens* (Zwolle: W Books, 2011), pp. 367–376.

¹⁴ Cf. Hugo van St Victor, *Opera omnia, tribus tomis digesta; studio et industria donni Thaomae Garzonii postillis, annotatiunculis, scholiis ac vita auctoris expolita, et nunc primum in Germania Correctius et ornatius in lucem edita* (Mainz: sumptibus Antonius Hierat, 1617). From Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum Libri XX* (Basel: Froben, 1559), p 208 one could draw a parallel between the temple of Salomon, the *arca* at Leiden University Library and the *Arca Scaligeri*, as the most sacred possession in a temple of wisdom.

¹⁵ The section ‘Libri Qui in Arca D. Vulcanij servantur’ was, like the section recording the Scaliger bequest, poorly described: only author and an indication of the title being printed or in manuscript was supplied.

¹⁶ The Vossius collection was the first to be labelled with strips, in 1700. At the same time as the Scaliger collection, the collections of Levinus Warner and Jacobus Perizonius were labelled by custodian Goedval(l) with similar strips that read ‘Ex Legato Viri Amplissimi Levini Warneri’ and ‘Ex Legato Viri Clarrissimi Jacobi Perizoni’ respectively.

a great deal of confusion. As Alastair Hamilton has pointed out, several manuscripts labelled *Legatum Scaligeri* were not from Scaliger's library but from the library of Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597), another Leiden Arabist and a printer at Plantin's Leiden branch.¹⁷ Scaliger often borrowed manuscripts from other scholars for his projects, including his works on chronology, *De emendatione temporum* and the *Thesaurus temporum* ('Treasure-house of time').¹⁸ Some of these manuscripts never found their way back to their owners and were mistakenly considered by Van Royen to be part of Scaliger's library. It seems to have been common practice for other collections or bequests to be stored in one of the *arcae* in the library. In 1697, for instance, the Huygens bequest was put in the *Arca Vulcanii* alongside Vulcanius' manuscripts. Additional Oriental material probably found its way into the *Arca Scaligeri* in a similar manner. We know 114 volumes are listed a catalogue of 1674 and 113 in a catalogue of 1716, but how many of these titles came from Scaliger and how many were part of his bequest is unknown.

Scaliger's Library during His Lifetime

As far as we know, Scaliger did not make a personal inventory of his library while staying in the Netherlands. We do know of a list he compiled in 1592, while he was still living in France, that contains several Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts. Scaliger ended the list with the remark, "These are the manuscripts in the library of Joseph Scaliger, together with many other rare printed books in several tongues", but unfortunately gave no details of these rare printed books.¹⁹ This list may be the one delivered to Franciscus

¹⁷ A. Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus" Franciscus Raphelengius' Lexicon Arabico-latinum (Leiden, 1613), in M. De Schepper and F. De Nave, eds., *Ex officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini (ca. 1520–1589)* (Antwerp: Vereniging der Antwerpsche Bibliophielen, 1989), *De Gulden Passer* 66–67 (1989), pp. 557–591 and 'Franciscus Raphelengius: the Hebraist and His Manuscripts', *De Gulden Passer* 68 (1990), pp. 105–117. J.T.P. de Bruijn has pointed out a similar trend in relation to Persian manuscripts in the Scaliger collection, see his *Een Perzisch handschrift in Leiden* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1996). Raphelengius was Professor of Hebrew at the university from 1586. He also taught Arabic, but without an official appointment.

¹⁸ The first edition of the *De emendatione temporum* was published in Paris in 1583. Raphelengius published an extended edition in 1598. The *Thesaurus temporum* was published in Leiden by the printer Basson in 1606.

¹⁹ "Hi[c] libri extant manuscripti in Bibliotheca Josephi Scaligeri cum plurimis excusis quidem sed qui raro inveniuntur in omnibus linguis." The list is in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris: MS. Dupuy 395, f. 178v–179r; the section with the Hebrew manuscripts is reproduced in A. van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts of Leiden University Library* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1977), as appendix I A.

Raphelengius in Leiden by Professor of Law Gerardus Tuningius (1566–1610), who was negotiating Scaliger's move to Leiden on behalf of the trustees of the university. Raphelengius referred to the list in a letter to Justus Lipsius of 30 March 1592 and was clearly astonished by the richness of its contents: "What do you think about the letter of Scaliger? He has sent me a catalogue with his Oriental books via Tuningius. It is a miracle that he possesses that many rare books. If he comes, we will soon know what he is capable of. Personally I think he is capable of many things and that I will benefit from cooperating with him."²⁰ This reference dates the list to early 1592. Moreover some manuscripts that Scaliger possessed while in Leiden appear on the list, so it can be dated without doubt to earlier than 1593, the year he travelled to the Netherlands.

No other lists or inventories from the last decade of Scaliger's life are known apart from the codicil to his will, and we do not know if that codicil was drawn up by Scaliger himself. When he moved from his house in the Breestraat to his last house, on the Pieterskerkgracht, he was very much panicked by the idea that some of his books might be lost. When the books were back on the shelves again, he was relieved to find them all accounted for, but he seems to have reshelfed them from memory.

Leiden University Library possesses, however, an early inventory of the books and manuscripts from Scaliger's library that was drawn up by his colleague Bonaventura Vulcanius. This *Catalogus Librorum omnium qui hodie conservantur à Josepho Scaligero* was probably compiled during the last years of Scaliger's life.²¹

Vulcanius listed the manuscripts on the recto and the *Impressa rara* on the verso; manuscripts were typically considered more valuable and listed separately. This 'catalogue' does not come near to listing every item; the books are given only in very casual descriptions, and the list focuses mainly on Oriental manuscripts and books. For instance, the list notes a *Zohar*, a *Totum Talmud* and a *Kalendarium Turcicum* but gives no further details. Was Scaliger's collection of interest to Vulcanius himself? Did Vulcanius compile the list with the intention of borrowing or acquiring the books and manuscripts himself, or was it simply a means of locating

²⁰ "Quid dicis literis Scaligeri? Is mihi misit per Tuningum Catalogum librorum suorum Orientalium. Mirum quam raros habeat libros! Si venerit, experiemur quid possit. Ergo credo eum multum posse ac eius consortio me valde adiutum iri." Cf. J. Lipsius, *Epistolae. Pars V: 1592*, ed. J. De Landtsheer and J. Kluyskens (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1991), no 1179.

²¹ The inventory is kept in Leiden University Library as VUL 108 pars 5.

the books in Scaliger's library when it was still *in situ*?²² Its title suggests that this list was compiled by Vulcanius while the books were still in Scaliger's home. Van der Heide dates the list to before 1597 because the manuscripts which came into Scaliger's possession after the death of Raphelengius in 1597 are not included.²³ H.J. de Jonge dates the list to before 1600 on the basis that the manuscript Greek-Arabic lectionary received by Scaliger in 1600 is not mentioned (oddly, the lectionary is also absent from the 1612 catalogue).²⁴ The far-from-complete list does not allow for conclusive dating, however.

The list of printed books in Vulcanius's record runs as follows (modern shelf marks in brackets):

IMPRESSA rara.	Kalendarium Turcicum, MS.
Zohar [875 B 1]	Duo libri Canonis Avicennae Arab. [878 A 4]
Totum Talmud [875 A 1–8]	Euclidis lib. IX. Arab. [845 A 9]
Totus Avicenna Hebr. [855 A 5–6]	Duae Grammaticae Arabicae. [876 G 5?]
Targum Arab. R. Saadia in Pentateuch [839 A 7]	Liber Theologiae Mahomedicae, MS. Arabicè, cum apicibus vocalibus. [Or. 228?]
Targum Persic in Pentateuch [839 A 7; second copy Constantinople 1551; disposed of]	Mappa Annorum Judaicorum ab anno 5335 ad annum 5374. [Not found]
Liber Mebih Cusar. Luculentum opus. [1371 D 22–1??]	Euchologium Judaicum. [1370 E 33]
Proverbia antiqua, versibus instar [1371 D 22–2]	C. Marii Plotii Sacerdotis de versibus cum exemplis Graecis. Liber instar Hephaestionis descriptus ex Bibliothecae Cuiacii. [SCA 37]

²² Cf. *Codices Vulcaniani* 1910, p. 49; Van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, pp. 9–10, 21–24; de Jonge, 'Joseph Scaliger's Greek-Arabic lectionary (Leiden, U.L., MS. Or. 243 = Lectionary 6 of the Greek New Testament)', *Quaerendo* 2 (1975), pp. 143–172.

²³ Van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, p. 9.

²⁴ De Jonge, 'Joseph Scaliger's Greek-Arabic Lectionary', p. 147.

Apologorum Aesopi, cum figures.

Liber egregius. [854 F 18]

Priscianus collatus cum

integro Prisciano Puteani,

in quo Graeca expressa

sunt o[mn]ia. Est in

Bibliothecae Cuiacii; neque

possimus (?) recup[er]are,

cum aliis MSS. quos

com[m]en[daveram

Cuiacio. [Not found]

Gramm[atic]^a R. Mose Kimhi.

[874 B 5?]

Liber Cosmographiae

Arabicus in climatam et

climatam partes divisus.

Opus utilissimum, si Latinè

factum esset. [842 D 12]

Proverbia sive dicta moraliarum quaest.

[502 G 12–2??]

[Signature Vulcanius]

Jad R. Mose ben Maimon duo immania

volumina utilissima, instar Talmud.

[854 A 6–7]

Via vitae R. Jacob F(ili). Aser instar

doctrinae Talmud, ubi continentur

Ritus Judaici. [854 A 15]

Praeterea in Legibus plus q(uam). XX

interpretes Tanhuma, Sephir Siphra,

Mechita, & multa eiusmodi. [874 B 15]

Biblia magna Venetiis excusa cum

comment. [515 A 12–15]

Multi praeterea alii Hebraici scriptores

a nobis Mirabelli relict, quorum nunc

no[m]i[n]a non succurrunt. [854 C 38?]

Ep[is]t[ol]ae duae Ignatii patriarchae

Antiocheni ad nos,²⁵ instar duorum

librorum Arabicè manu ipsius

Patriarichae. [Manuscript; Not found]

²⁵ These are two extensive letters from the Syrian Jacobite patriarch Ignatius Na'matallah to Scaliger on the Oriental computus, the 12-year animal cycle, the Syrian calender, etc. See G. Levi della Vida, 'Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle chiese orientale con la S. Sede durante il pontificatio di Gregorio XIII', *Studi e testi* 143 (1948), pp. 22–25.

Kalendarium Elkuph Arab., MS. [MS
 Or. 262?]
 Kalendarium Antiochenum Syriace,
 MS. [Not found]
 Diurnale, Sive Euchologium Maronitarum
 Arabicè, charactero Syriaco. [876 C 5–6]
 Horae matutinae Arab. [876 G 27]
 Preces Maronitarum Syriacè & Arab.
 charactero Syriaco. [874 D 17-2 and
 864 D 18-2?]
 Duo Nova Testamenta Aethiopica.
 [500 E 20]
 Quinque Volumina Psalmorum Aethiopica,
 Quorum unum manu
 Petri Comis Aethiopis notatum est, &
 multis appendicibus auctum.
 [877 D 37 and 837 D 38]
 Psalterium Armeniacum. [1370 G 21 or Cod.
 Or. 4738?]
 Quaedam Veterum Patrum, lingua
 Veteri Dalmatica, caractere Dalmatico.
 [1370 G 21?]
 Psalmi Poenitentialis linguâ Illyricâ,
 charactero Serviano. [SCA 24B?]
 Correctio anni Gregoriana,
 Armeniacè. [?]

Cataloguing Scaliger's Oriental Legacy

There seems to have been a desire to let the scholarly world know that the famous Scaliger had left part of his library to Leiden University Library. The funeral oration in his honour contained a very brief list of Greek, Hebrew and Oriental manuscripts that were part of his bequest.²⁶

²⁶ Together with a list of annotated classical texts which were given by Scaliger to Heinsius and Franciscus Gomarus: an edition of the *Emendatione Temporum*, Manilius and Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius and a copy of the *Poemata; In obitum viri illustrissimi Josephi Scaligeri Orationes Duae Daniel Heinsius* (Leiden, Ex Officina Plantiniana Raphelengi, 1609), pp. 97–98.

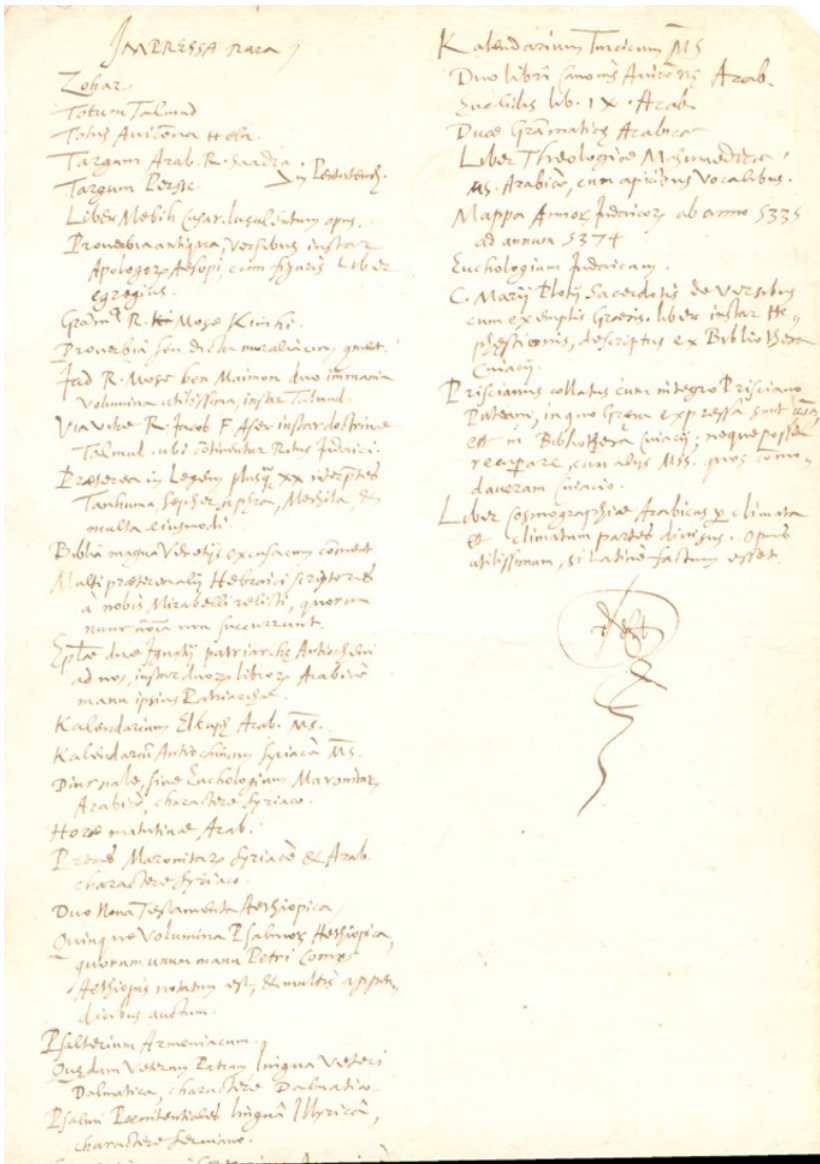


Illustration 3.5. 'Impressa rara'. Inventory of Scaliger's printed books from his private library by Bonaventura Vulcanius. [Leiden University Library, MS VUL 108 pars 5]

Compiling a full catalogue of the bequest proved to be a challenging task for Heinsius, however; the list he drew up does not give specific titles or numbers of books and suggests that Heinsius had little clue about the contents of Scaliger donation.

Catalogues before 1612

Paullus Merula (1558–1607) was appointed librarian (*Bibliothecae Praefectus*) on 24 February 1597²⁷ and compiled a printed catalogue of the library that same year.²⁸ This catalogue listed book donations made since 1575, repeated earlier donations listed in the *Nomenclator* of 1595—the first printed catalogue of Leiden University Library and the earliest complete printed catalogue of any library—and added new acquisitions, such as two painted portraits of William of Orange and his son Maurice and the library of the father of Johannes De Laet.²⁹ The main aim of the catalogue was to invite donations of books and/or manuscripts to the library, as there were insufficient funds to increase the holdings of the library by purchasing books.³⁰

The handwritten catalogue *Rariorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugdunensis Catalogus Compositus (Prof. et ibidem bibliothecaris) Paullus Merula* of 1607 provides us with a list of the manuscripts and books that were kept in the closed cabinets in the library at that date.³¹ Merula roughly followed the order set out by Petrus Bertius (1565–1629) in the *Nomenclator*: first the Latin manuscripts, then the Greek manuscripts and lastly ‘old and respected editions’. Merula recorded all the names of “de geenen, die hare liberaliteyten betoonden in eenige boeken aen de Bibliothecq te schenken”. It was Merula who laboured to acquire and catalogue the bequests of Franciscus Nansius and Gerardus Falcoburgius.³² The catalogue gives us a good impression of the Oriental holdings of the

²⁷ S.P. Haak, *Paullus Merula 1558–1607* (Zutphen: Thieme, 1901), pp. 137–139 erroneously dates the appointment to 1599.

²⁸ *Catalogus Principum, Civitatum, et singulariorum, Qui Donatione vel inter vivos vel mortis caussa, Bibliothecam Publicam, in Academia Lugduno-Batava institutam* (Lugduni Batavorum, I. Paedts, 1597); shelf marks 1496 F 37 and BA1 G1.

²⁹ See Petrus Bertius, *Nomenclator. First Printed Catalogue of Leiden University Library* (1595). *A Facsimile Edition with an Introduction by R. Breugelmans and an Author's Index Compiled by Jan Just Witkam* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 1975).

³⁰ Bertius, *Nomenclator*, pp. [ii–iii].

³¹ The *Rariorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugdunensis Catalogus* is shelf mark BA C 3; Merula's catalogue was copied by librarian Van Royen in the eighteenth century [BPL 127 AG].

³² *Schriftelijk Rapport van Mr. David van Royen* 1741 [Bibliotheekarchief H1].

library at the beginning of the seventeenth century, before the addition of Scaliger's bequest.³³ These holdings were poor and consisted almost entirely of works in Hebrew and some specimens of writing from the East Indies. On folio 33 we find 'the Books brought from distant countries' that had been donated to the library.³⁴ They include:

Testamentum Jesu Christi novum in Aethiopicam linguam translatum [...] serta Evangelii quator et D. Paulli Epistolis Aethiop. Missa donated by Franc. vander Welio [= Franc. Van der Wiele].

Amplissimi ad Alcoranum Turcicum. Commentarii Arabico caractere elegantissime Conferisti donated by Bartoldo Brandt.

Volumen javanicum Ex faliis Palmae donated by Conradi a Dulmen.³⁵

Volumen ex ferico partim Arabico partim Javanico Caractere descriptum donated by Petro Scriverio (Petrus Scriverius).

Volumen Sinense Elegantissimum donated by Pavo [= Petrus Pavius or Pieter Paauw, possibly from the estate of his father Pieter Pauw Adriaanszoon who was a member of the City Council of Amsterdam and Bailiff of Alkmaar].³⁶

Volumen magnum et oblongum in quo praeter magni moscorum ducio titulas et suppellationes, aliaq, singularia descriptum multis modis Artificiosissime Moscovitivum Alphabetum donated by Ioanne Verdaes (= Johannes Verdues?).³⁷

The list was composed randomly, with no coherence in the order of titles or subjects. The catalogue seems to have served one purpose only: to facilitate access to the contents of the cabinets in the library, although we do

³³ These donations were recorded by Merula up until his death, on 17 July 1607.

³⁴ 'Boucken uyt verregheleghene landen ghebracht'.

³⁵ In a letter dated 15 October 1597 (BPL 747) Merula asked Amsterdam merchant Coenraad van Dulmen to donate the Indian manuscript to the Leiden University Library. That manuscript is probably the Javanese primbon brought to the Netherlands by Cornelis de Houtman, which is now kept under shelf mark L. Or. 266. See also Haak, *Paullus Merula*, 1558–1607, p. 138.

³⁶ Possibly connected with the sheet from the popular Chinese novel *Shui-hu-chuan* now in the Bodleian library. The Chinese manuscript possibly came to Leiden as a result of the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies (1595–1597) by Cornelis de Houtman. The fragment was given by Merula in Leiden to a representative of the Bodleian library (the inscription on the cover reads 'A book of China given me at Leiden by Doctor Merla [sic] professor in Histories') for an unknown reason. Cf. J.J.L. Duyvendak, 'An Old Chinese Fragment in the Bodleian', *The Bodleian Library Record* 2 (1949), pp. 245–247.

³⁷ This is the Alphabetum Russicum from 1570–1584 with shelf mark BPL 967. See H. Meijer, 'Slawjanskije rukopisi Lejdenskoj uniwersitetskoj biblioteki w Niderlandach', *Moskwa* 1978, nr. 5; Cat. compend. I (1932), p. 135.

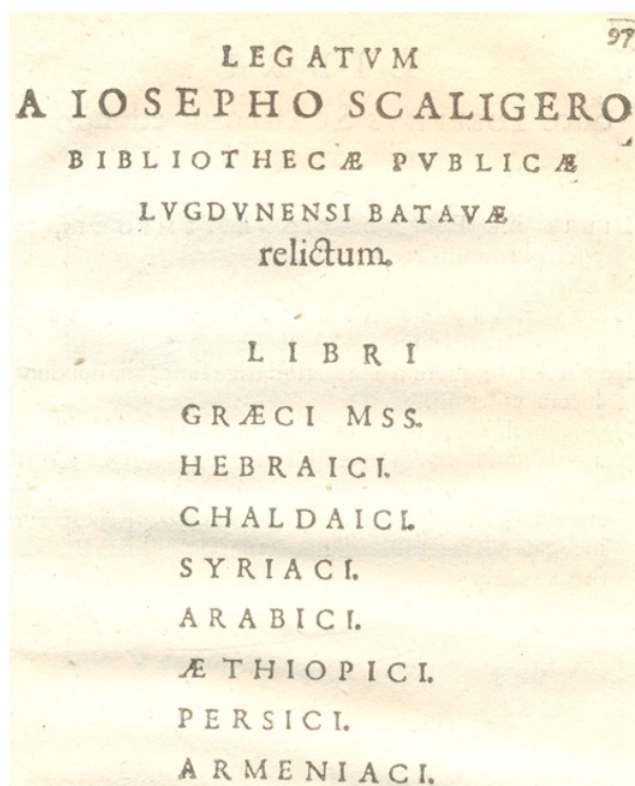


Illustration 3.6. The short list of Scaliger's legacy as published in the funeral oration on Scaliger by Daniel Heinsius. [Leiden University Library, 1011 C 14]

not know if the catalogue was made available to readers or was intended for internal use only.

The Catalogue of 1612

The first printed catalogue of the holdings of Leiden University Library after the publication of the *Nomenclator* was published in 1612.³⁸ Daniel Heinsius, who had been appointed librarian on 31 August 1607, had compiled this catalogue with the help and encouragement of Scaliger. It was a work of homage. Heinsius admired Scaliger greatly and could be excessive

³⁸ *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Lugdunesis. Præfixa est Danielis Heinsii bibliothecarij ad nobiliss. & ampliss. Academiae curatores oratio.* [s.l.; s.n. 1612].

in his praise in accord with scholarly models, as can be seen in his *Panegyrici II, Jos. Scaligero dicti* of 1608.³⁹ Heinsius considered himself Scaliger's favourite student and the great scholar supposedly died in his arms.⁴⁰ A near contemporary source recorded, "His attractive personality, elegant speech and appearance, and brilliant intellectual talents quickly gained Heinsius the friendship and admiration of Scaliger, whom he visited daily reading to him whatever he had written, and who listened with great pleasure."⁴¹ Heinsius became known amongst his contemporaries as the 'little Scaliger'.⁴² Perhaps strengthened by this reputation, Heinsius considered himself the ultimate keeper of Scaliger's Oriental legacy.⁴³ As the librarian he, and no one else, was to compile the catalogue. As secretary to the trustees of the university, he could have strongly influenced the decision to store Scaliger's donation in a cabinet that was closed to almost every visitor to the library while the rest of the books in the library could be consulted by all professors. Heinsius believed that Scaliger's Oriental legacy would allow Leiden University Library to rival the great libraries of Europe and surpass them by far when it came to Oriental language and learning.

It is doubtful that Heinsius was alone responsible for acquiring Scaliger's bequest. Heinsius, who was asked to deliver the funeral oration for Scaliger and was appointed literary executor of Scaliger's manuscripts, seems to have been more interested in his own work and his own image as a scholar

³⁹ D. Heinsius, *Panegyrici II, Jos. Scaligero dicti* ([Lugd. Bat.]: Ex Officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1608).

⁴⁰ Letter from Heinsius to Isaac Casaubon, Leiden, 28 March 1609 in *Illustriss. Viri Josephi Scaligeri Epistolae*, ed. D. Heinsius (Leiden: Ex officina Bonaventurae & Abrahami Elzevir, 1627), no. 453.

⁴¹ Joannes Meursius on Heinsius in his *Illustrium Hollandiae et Westfrisiae ordinum alma academia Leidensis* (Leiden: Apud Jacobum Marci et Iustum à Colster, 1625), pp. 200–208 as quoted by B. Becker-Cantarino, *Daniel Heinsius* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), p. 15.

⁴² Isaac Casaubon characterised Heinsius as 'pusillum Scaligerum', which can also be read as 'the petty/mean/ungenerous Scaliger', cf. C. Saxe, *Onomasticon literarium, sive Nomenclator historico-criticus* (Utrecht: apud Gisb. Tiem. à Paddenburg ... Abrah. à Paddenburg, & Ioh. van Schoonhoven & soc., 1775–1803), vol. 6, p. 126.

⁴³ "Ende heeft hij in het begin van zijn Bibliothecarisschap, te weten 1609, schoon innerlijk getroffen door het overlijden van zijn Weldoener en goeden Vriendt tot troost in zijne afflictie, het genoegen gehad de Bibliotheecq niet alleen verrijkt te zien met het considerabel legaet der manuscripten van Josephus Scaliger (aen wie de H.H. Curateuren en Burgemeesteren zo uijt hoofde zijner onsterffelijke meriten, als uijt erkennisse van dit legaet een monument in de Vrouwekerk alhier, volgens resolutie van den 8 februarij 1609 hebben opgerecht) maer ook daeren boven bij den goede quantiteit van gedrukte boeken daer uijt voor de Bibliotheecq te bekomen." Schriftelijk Rapport van Mr. David van Royen 1741 [Bibliotheekarchief H1].

and favourite of Scaliger than in ensuring the library was enriched through donations.⁴⁴ Moreover, Heinsius was the first Leiden librarian to be given a budget to buy books and did so enthusiastically. Being a librarian, however, was not his strongpoint. E. Hulshoff Pol notes that “his term as librarian was not a very fortunate one and he fell short on many points. It should also be remembered that it was only a part-time occupation for a man who was deeply involved in many other fields.”⁴⁵

The entries in the 1612 catalogue were preceded by an *Oratio Pro bibliothecarij munere gratiarum actio* that was dedicated to the curators of the university.⁴⁶ In this oration, written to mark his accession to the office of librarian in 1607, Heinsius presented a long and detailed praise of the recovered freedom of the Low Countries, the glorious days of sieges and victories, and of the library itself, a temple of peace and learning dedicated to God. The oration is followed by a Greek poem “ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝ” (Eis tēn biblothēkēn) by Heinsius that also praises the fame and glory of the library.

The 1612 catalogue provides only basic bibliographic information modelled on the entries in the *Nomenclator*. Heinsius moved the *Talmud Babylonicum*, which Bertius thought was one of the most important books in the library, to the theology *pluteis A*, making this book an integral part of the study of theology. At the same time, this catalogue was a way of presenting Scaliger's legacy in its *optima forma*, as the most important Oriental holding of the entire library.

The catalogue had a separate part (pages 79–88) in which Scaliger's bequest was described for the first time as an entity. In this ‘*Catalogus Librorum quos bibliothecae Iosephus Scaliger legavit*’, Heinsius gives concise descriptions of the books and manuscripts, beginning with the Hebrew books in folio, then in quarto, and finally in octavo. The same method is applied to the books in Arabic, which also has a section of books in decimosexto. The sections containing books in Syriac, Ethiopic and Russian contain fewer than ten titles each and are not subdivided by

⁴⁴ A. Angz. Angillis wrote in 1864 that Scaliger had intended to donate his whole library to Heinsius, but Heinsius had refused the offer and accepted only a small number of books for himself; there is no evidence to support this suggestion. See A. Angz. Angillis, ‘Daniël Heins, hoogleraar en dichter’, *Dietsche Warande*, vol. 6 (1864), p. 15.

⁴⁵ E. Hulshoff Pol, ‘The Library’, in Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer et al., eds., *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), p. 432.

⁴⁶ Later reprinted as ‘*Gratiarum actio pro Bibliothecarii munere*’, as part of D. Heinsius, *Orationes aliquot ... Cum dissertatione de libello* (Leiden: ex Officina Ioannis Patti 1509 [sic = 1609]).

format. After the Oriental books, Heinsius lists the manuscripts in Greek and Latin (along with Scaliger's two globes), subdivided in folio and quarto. Within each section, books and manuscripts were catalogued and presented together, without an alphabetical order. Only the format of the books seems to have determined their order on the shelves.

Heinsius was not trained as either an Arabist or a Hebraist, although Thomas Erpenius (van Erpe, 1584–1624) later tutored him in Hebrew for his commentaries on the New Testament.⁴⁷ Heinsius had also been acquainted with Adriaan Willemsz (Hadrianus Guilielmus), one of the earliest practitioners of Arabic in the Northern Netherlands, since the days of their youth in Flushing.⁴⁸ Willemsz had joined Isaac Casaubon in Paris in 1602, but had died there unexpectedly in 1604. Other scholars, however, might have been available to help with the translation of the titles of the books. Heinsius had made contact with William Bedwell (1563–1636), the father of Oriental studies in Great Britain.⁴⁹ Bedwell visited Leiden in August 1612 in order to consult the collection of Arabic manuscripts and Scaliger's unpublished thesaurus. He came to Heinsius with a letter of recommendation from Bishop Lancelot Andrewes and Casaubon.⁵⁰ Heinsius was evidently a necessary contact, leaving little doubt that he controlled access to the Scaliger bequest and probably had some of the manuscripts and books in his personal possession.⁵¹ With the consent of Heinsius, Bedwell surveyed Scaliger's books.

Heinsius had many difficulties in producing accurate descriptions of the Oriental titles from the bequest. Although his entries are classified by language—Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopian, Russian and Latin—all the titles remain in Latin. Many titles are incomplete or inaccurate, but visitors to the library had the advantage that the books and manuscripts were at least shelved separately, in the *Arca Scaligeri*. Heinsius' catalogue was an unorganised medley of titles on which Heinsius provided information

⁴⁷ P.R. Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England. With a Short-Title Catalogue of the Works of Daniel Heinsius* (Leiden and London: Leiden University Press, 1968), p. 100. Erpenius returned to Holland in 1612 and was appointed professor *extraordinarius* of Oriental Languages in Leiden the following year. His famous *Grammatica Arabica* was published in Leiden in 1613.

⁴⁸ A. Hamilton and A.J.M. Vrolijk, 'Hadrianus Guilielmi Flessingensis. The Brief Career of the Arabist Adriaen Willemsz.', *Oriens* 39 (2011), pp. 1–15.

⁴⁹ A. Hamilton, *William Bedwell, the Arabist, 1563–1632* (Leiden: Brill and Leiden University Press, 1985), p. 14.

⁵⁰ I. Casaubon, *Epistolae* (1709), no. 821; cf. Letter from Heinsius to Casaubon, Leiden, 31 August 1612, British Library Ms. Burn. 364, f. 238.

⁵¹ Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England*, p. 100. Sellin states that Heinsius occupied a central position among Dutch Orientalists, which seems to be an exaggeration.

on a need-to-know basis. The catalogue was useful merely for the yearly verification of the holdings of the library (and must therefore have been regarded as a shelf catalogue) and was of little use to visitors to the library.⁵²

It was Heinsius who decided to have all the books and manuscripts marked with the stamp “ACAD LVGD”, as an indication that each volume was part of the collection of Leiden University Library.

The Catalogue of 1623

In the years between the publication of Heinsius' first catalogue, in 1612, and his second catalogue, in 1623, their author had many other responsibilities. Besides being librarian, Heinsius became Professor of Greek in 1613, acted as secretary of the Senate of the Academy from 1608 to 1614, and was appointed Royal Historian by the king of Sweden in 1618. As *Praefectus Bibliothecae* he had to give account to the trustees of the university for his excessive acquisition of books. On that occasion the trustees also commanded that Heinsius return the testament with the catalogue of Scaliger's books “om 't allen tijden den selven te mogen conferen (= beraadslaan) jegens de casse der Bibliotheecque”.⁵³ Heinsius was also ordered to supply a new library catalogue. In 1620, the trustees urged Heinsius once again not to spend too much money on books and ordered him to produce an interleaved catalogue recording all new acquisitions.⁵⁴ They repeated this instruction in 1620, and again on 9 November 1622.⁵⁵

Heinsius' 1612 oration on the library is reprinted in the library catalogue printed in 1623, as is the Greek poem.⁵⁶ The structure of the 1623 catalogue also repeats that of 1612. Some typographical errors from the 1612 edition were corrected by the Elsevier printing house. There are some significant

⁵² C. Berckvens-Stevelinck, *Magna commoditas. Geschiedenis van de Leidse universiteitsbibliotheek 1575–2000* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2001), p. 75.

⁵³ Resoluties curatoren 1615: 7/8 May 1615 (Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, 1:59).

⁵⁴ Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, 1:93.

⁵⁵ The trustees paid the bill for the books that Heinsius had bought without their consent as late as May 1624, ‘for the last time’, as is recorded in the resolution of 1624; Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, 1:117.

⁵⁶ *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Lugduno-Batavae* (Lugduni-Batavorum, Ex Officina Isaaci Elzeveri, 1623). Isaac Elsevier was appointed printer to the university, as successor to Jan Paets, on 10 February 1620. Isaac was succeeded by his brother Abraham and uncle Bonaventura Elsevier in 1626. One year earlier they had taken over Thomas Erpenius' ‘Orientaelsche drukkerij’, that is, all the Oriental type and punches that Erpenius had bought from Raphelengius in 1619. Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit* 1:206*–207*, 211*–212*.

changes in the section on the legacy from Scaliger. In the first section, *Catalogus librorum quos Bibliothecae Iosephus Scaliger Legavit* (pp. 127–131), the Hebrew printed books are described and subdivided by format. That section follows the text of the 1612 catalogue, with some small changes (*Syriacā* for instance is changed to *Syriacam* and *manuscrip.* to *MSS*). The next section, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum* (pp. 132–135), begins with a description of the most important Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, forty-six works in total. The division by format is not retained. The first manuscript is an Arabic Pentateuch and is followed by the New Testament in Arabic. The next section, entitled *Alii libri orientales, Partim excusi, partim manuscripti* (p. 136), includes other Oriental manuscripts and books. Some books have been added to this section since the 1612 catalogue, such as a Japanese manuscript in quarto. This section contains Scaliger's books in Ethiopic, Russian and Syriac.⁵⁷ The list of the Greek and Latin manuscripts follows, on pages 137–139. In Heinsius's personal copy of the catalogue, one work has been added in handwriting to this section.⁵⁸ This was a book donated by Marcus Bovelius Lucensis, who was involved in drawing up the Latin index for *Thesaurus Arabico-Syro-Latinus* by the Franciscan and Oriental scholar Tommaso Obicini (1585–1632).⁵⁹ Heinsius added no other titles, nor did he alter or add substantial information to the descriptions. The last section is devoted to the *Incompacti manuscripti* from Scaliger's library. All the titles are still in Latin and some Greek type is employed; no Hebrew or Arabic type was used. Strangely, almost none of the Arabic and Syrian printed books listed in the 1612 catalogue were included in this catalogue. Perhaps Thomas Erpenius, the Professor of Arabic, had most of the Arabic books at his home or in use for his Oriental press when the catalogue was compiled. Overall, the 1623 catalogue shows that the emphasis of the University Library collection was shifting towards manuscripts, which were considered unique and more valuable than printed books, at least within Scaliger's legacy.

⁵⁷ The Swiss Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger incorporated this same list into his *Promptuarium; Sive, Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Heidelberg: Typis & impensis Adriani Wyngaerden, 1658), pp. 18–24.

⁵⁸ This personal desk copy bears the inscription 'Sum Heinsij. Lugd. Bat. 1635' and was part of the collection of the University Library of Munich (olim 40.H.lit.2223) but was lost in the Second World War. There is, however, a copy of the original in Leiden University Library (shelf mark 20651 C 30). See A. Biedl, 'Ein bisher vermisster Leidener Bibliotheks-katalog des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Het boek* 25(1938), pp. 45–49.

⁵⁹ Obicini also made the Latin translation of the *Grammatica Arabica* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Āğurrūm (Rome: typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide, 1631).

The Catalogue of 1640

The 1640 catalogue, also published by Elsevier, was the last to be supervised by Heinsius and can be considered a cumulative supplement to the 1623 catalogue. New acquisitions were described according to the current location of the books, either in the main library, that is, the *plutei* or the *arcae*, or in the *musaeum* or *cantoor*, where rarer and more precious books were kept.⁶⁰ The oration and the Greek poem on the library were reprinted, this time at the end of the book, just before the section listing Arabic books. The catalogue opens with a quotation from Pliny:

Nullum majus felicitatis specimen arbitror, quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis. Asinii Pollionis hoc Romae inventum: qui primus Bibliothecam dicando, ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit. An priores coeperint Alexandriae & Pergami Reges, qui Bibliothecas magno certamine instituere, non facile dixerim.⁶¹

This quotation not only refers to the accumulation of knowledge through the access provided by libraries but also, indirectly, to Scaliger as a benefactor of the library. 'There is no greater kind of happiness than that all people for all time should desire to know what kind of a man a person was', quoted Heinsius with reference to the great scholar. Scaliger was even compared to the famous Gaius Asinius Pollio, who founded the first public library in Rome, for the benefit of all. The University of Leiden itself was compared with the libraries of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy I († 283 BC), and Pergamum, founded by Attalus I (241–197 BC).⁶²

The number of volumes in the library had reached 3117 by 1640, divided into 498 manuscripts, 350 annotated books and 2278 printed books. Because of the influx of books in the mid-seventeenth century, the *plutei*

⁶⁰ Besides the *Arca Scaligeri* there was an *Arca Vulcanii*, in which the 1615 acquisition of the manuscripts by Bonaventura Vulcanius, the Professor of Greek, were stored. A painted portrait of Vulcanius was hung above the *arca*, just as a portrait of Scaliger hung above his *arca*. The smaller format books were kept in two arcis ('Libri, qui in Arcis servantur' or book closets that could be locked). There was a separate *arca* with publications by Leiden professors. Cf. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 43.

⁶¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.2.10: "quo maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis. Asini Pollionis hoc Romae inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit. an priores coeperint Alexandriae et Pergami reges, qui bibliothecas magno certamine instituere, non facile dixerim."

⁶² D. Heinsius, *Catalogvs bibliothecae pvblicae lugduno-batauae* [and: *Oratio ... Pro bibliothecarii munere gratiarum actio*] & *Libri mss. arabici, quos ex oriente advexit I. Golius, cum genuinis arabicis eorundem titulis* (Lvvd. Batavorvm: ex officina Elsevir. Acad. typograph., 1640).

were dismantled in 1653 and replaced by bookcases erected against the walls.⁶³ A wooden fence was built to keep visitors away from the books. The manuscripts were separated from the printed books and were stored in closed bookcases.⁶⁴

The expansion of the section containing Arabic books was a result of visits to the Orient by Jacobus Golius (Gool, 1596–1667), pioneering Orientalist and professor at the University of Leiden from 1625.⁶⁵ Golius compiled the catalogue himself because Heinsius had delivered an inferior product that Elsevier refused to print.⁶⁶ The use of Arabic type in this catalogue had been made possible by the acquisition of Oriental type by the Elseviers, from the printing office of Erpenius in 1625.⁶⁷ Books and manuscripts were described using both Latin and Arabic fonts, but unfortunately this method was not applied to the section listing the manuscripts and books from the Scaliger legacy (pp. 127–129), where the descriptions remained unaltered and in Latin script. Even in 1655, when librarian Anthony Thysius (1603–1665) made some handwritten additions to the catalogue, the Scaliger bequest was still described separately from the other books in the library.

The Catalogue of 1674

The *Catalogus Bibliothecae publicae Lugduno-Batavae noviter recognitus. Accessit Incomparabilis Thesaurus Librorum Orientalium* of 1674 was printed in Leiden by Johannes Elsevier and was compiled by Frederik Spanheim the Younger (1632–1701). A shift of emphasis towards the Oriental collections in the Library can be traced in this catalogue. The library is advertising its unequalled Oriental resources, not only in the works bequeathed by Scaliger but also in the collections of Levinus Warner (1619–1665) and Jacobus Golius. Warner's rare Oriental books and manuscripts, almost all of which had been acquired during a stay in Istanbul, had entered the library during the directorship of Johannes Fredericus

⁶³ According to the resolution of the trustees of 8 May 1653.

⁶⁴ The wooden doors were replaced in 1683 by a copper grill.

⁶⁵ The acquisitions by Golius were described separately, in a section headed "Libri mss. arabici, quos ex oriente advexit I. Golius, cum genuinis arabicis eorundem titulis." In 1629 Golius was also appointed Professor of Mathematics at the University of Leiden. See also J.J. Witkam, *Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) en zijn handschriften. Lezing voor het Oosters Genootschap in Nederland gehouden op 14 januari 1980* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

⁶⁶ Berckvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 79.

⁶⁷ D.W. Davies, *The World of the Elseviers, 1580–1712* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1954), pp. 50–51.

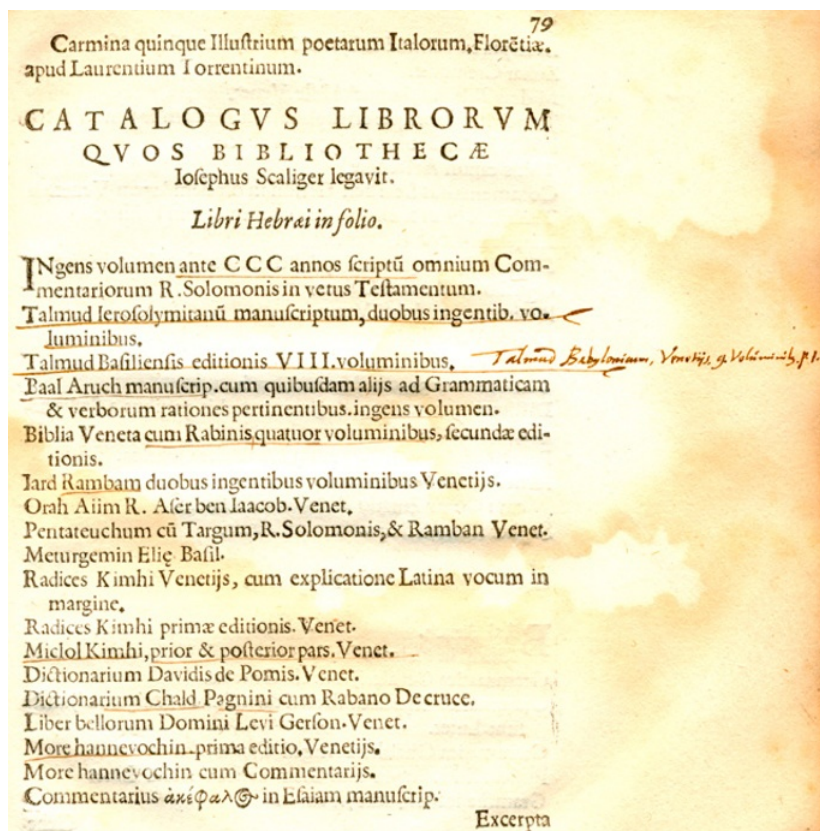


Illustration 3.7. The first description of Scaliger's oriental collection in the 1612 catalogue of Leiden University Library by Daniel Heinius. [Leiden University Library, BA C n 2c]

Gronovius (1611–1671). The section headed *Libri orientalis* contains printed books from the Scaliger and Warner collections. The printed books from Scaliger (pages 252–258) are again listed by format, but for the first time some of the entries are printed in Hebrew type, followed by a Latin translation and *impressum*. Spanheim evidently attempted to enrich the descriptions of the books with new and relevant information. The section with the manuscripts from the Scaliger collection (pp. 276–283) begins with the Hebrew manuscripts, which are followed by a section with Arabic (with some Arabic type), Persian and Turkish manuscripts. The Greek and Latin manuscripts from the Scaliger bequest are in a different section

(pp. 391–395), which ends with the listing of a wax portrait of Julius Cesar Scaliger, which was apparently lost in the nineteenth century. The Western printed books are ordered by format and then alphabetically by author, with the classification by *plutei* no longer in use. The Oriental printed books and all the manuscripts are classified only by format. To provide access to the holdings, the shelf mark of each book was recorded in ink on the spine of each volume. The catalogue of 1674 holds 3,725 printed *opera*, 1,702 manuscripts and 5,427 printed books. The number of books has increased by 2,310 since the catalogue of 1640.

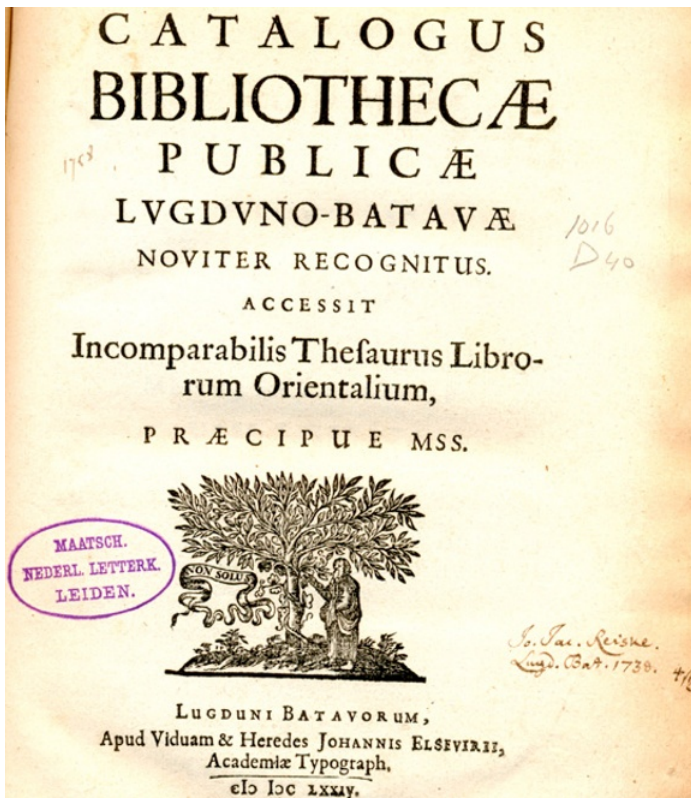


Illustration 3.8. The triumph of oriental collections: the *Catalogus Bibliothecae publicae Lugduno-Batavae* of 1674. This copy is from the library of the famous German arabist Johann Jakob Reiske. (1716–1774) [Leiden University Library, 1016 D 40]

The printed catalogues of the seventeenth century usually represent the arrangement of the books as they stood on the library shelves. In university libraries, this layout was by faculty: Theology, Law, Mathematics, Medicine and the Arts (Greek and Latin classics, languages, history, criticism, astronomy etc.). Within each faculty section, subdivision was by size: first folios, then quarto, then octavo. In Leiden University Library the folios were chained; the smaller books were kept in two separate and locked cabinets. Arrangement within sizes was alphabetical by author, but new acquisitions were added to the sections without regard for alphabetical order.⁶⁸ Important bequests were kept separately in the library, as was the case with the Oriental books of Scaliger. After 1653 manuscripts were also shelved separately and, beginning with the catalogue compiled by Spanheim in 1674, formed a distinct section of a printed catalogue. According to an engraving of the University Library of 1610, the library had already begun to subdivide the books on the shelves of the Arts faculty according to subject: Mathematici, Philosophi, Literatores, Historici.⁶⁹

The Catalogue of 1716

The numerous Leiden University Library catalogues, which begin with the *Nomenclator*, reach a climax and conclusion with the catalogue of 1716 and its supplement of 1741.⁷⁰ In this *Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae* (instigated, paid for, printed and published by Pieter van der Aa) a classification system is introduced that ordered existing knowledge into a formal configuration.⁷¹ The acquisition of knowledge was considered an infinite process and therefore required open systems, in other words access via a well-functioning catalogue.⁷² One of the reasons for the

⁶⁸ G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800. Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965), pp. 251–252.

⁶⁹ Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, p. 253 erroneously dates this process to 1625, based on a later engraving of the library in Joannes Meursius, *Athenae Batavae, sive de vrbe Leidensi & academia, virisque claris; qui utramque ingenio suo, atque scriptis, illustrarunt: libri duo* (Leiden: Apud Jacobum Marci et Iustum à Colster, 1625).

⁷⁰ P.A. Taylor, *Book Catalogues: Their Varieties and Uses*. (2nd ed., rev. P. Barlow; Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1986), p. 18.

⁷¹ See Jean C. Streng, 'The Plates in the Leiden University Catalogus librorum of 1716' *Quaerendo* 22/4 (1992), pp. 273–284; P.G. Hoftijzer, *Pieter van de Aa (1659–1733), Leids drukker en boekverkoper* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), p. 57.

⁷² W. Arnold, 'Libraries in the Seventeenth Century', in *A Treasure House of Books. The Library of Duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), p. 48.

compiling of the 1716 catalogue was the purchase of the collection of the prominent scholar Isaac Vossius, son of Gerardus Vossius, in 1690, following Vossius' death in England the previous year. In 1741 there were 2770 manuscripts and 8534 printed books (in 25,000 volumes), 5877 volumes more than in the 1674 catalogue.

The 1716 catalogue was compiled under the regime of Wolferdus Senguerdus, who was librarian in Leiden from 1701 to 1724.⁷³ In 1702 he had found the Oriental manuscripts in great disorder—and some had been stolen or sold—and had resolved to separate out the collections of the original owners and stamp them with the mark of the University Library.⁷⁴ In 1702 he decided that Scaliger's manuscripts should be taken out of the wooden cabinet and stored in one of the new bookcases against the walls.⁷⁵ This reorganisation was evidently not the end of the *Arca Scaligeri* itself, however, because the *arcas* of Scaliger and Vulcanius are still visible under the gallery in an engraving of the library from 1712.⁷⁶ The manuscripts bound in wooden boards had been damaged by bookworm and were rebound in leather.⁷⁷ The cataloguing of the Hebrew and other Oriental collections was executed by Johannes Heyman (1667–1737), Professor of Oriental Languages, and Carolus Schaaf, who had been appointed Reader of Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages by the Board of Governors in 1680. The former clergyman Heyman from Smyrna was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages in addition to Schaaf in 1710.⁷⁸ Part of Heyman's assignment was to edit and translate the Oriental manuscripts collected by Scaliger, Golius and Warner into Latin; a task that he barely managed to execute.⁷⁹ The books and manuscripts of the *Legatum*

⁷³ Senguerdus (1646–1724) was also Professor of Philosophy at the University of Leiden; Jacobus Gronovius and Johannes Heyman were also involved in producing the catalogue.

⁷⁴ Apparently without a satisfactory result, because Albertus Schultens, Professor of Oriental Languages, and Interpres Warnerianum still complained about the disorder in the Oriental manuscript department in the 1740s. He was the first curator of a separate department of Oriental manuscripts and printed books at the University of Leiden.

⁷⁵ *Resoluties van curatoren*, 1 February 1702, in P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, vol. 4: 18 Febr. 1682–8 Febr. 1725 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920), p. 191.

⁷⁶ In *Les délices de Leide, qui contiennent une description exacte de son antiquité, de ses divers aggrandissemens, de son académie, de ses manufactures, de ses curiosités* (Leiden: P. van der Aa, 1712).

⁷⁷ Schriftelijk Rapport van Mr. David van Royen 1741 [Bibliotheekarchief H1].

⁷⁸ J. Nat, *De studie van de oostersche talen in de 18^{de} en 19^{de} eeuw* (Purmerend: Muusses, 1929), pp. 21–26.

⁷⁹ J. Schmidt, 'Johannes Heyman (1667–1737); His Manuscript Collection and the Dutch Community of Izmir', in C. Imber and K. Kiyotaki, eds., *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, vol. 2 (London: Tauris, 2005), p. 77.

Warnerianum were stored on the gallery, on the first floor of the library, above the entrance. The catalogue of 1716 was clearly modelled on the catalogues of the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge and was circulated widely, as was the catalogue of the Bodleian Library.

Conclusion

As Bert van Selm has pointed out in his study of Dutch book catalogues at the beginning of the seventeenth century, care must be exercised when interpreting inventories and catalogues in order to reconstruct the complete library of a scholar or other individual.⁸⁰ Catalogues or lists are often incomplete because books had been given away (perhaps to relatives or an institution) before a (auction) catalogue was produced. Not all the Oriental material from Scaliger's library made its way to the University Library despite the terms of his legacy: some books in the auction catalogue ought to have been part of that bequest.⁸¹ Several catalogues of Leiden University Library indicate that books from Scaliger's bequest were replaced by other works, probably in better condition, from the *Legatum Warnerianum*, and that books were added to the bequest later, sometimes with an *impressum* dating from decades after Scaliger's death.⁸² Some other works for instance the Japanese book *Fides no dôxi* (1592) (shelf mark SER 614) were almost certainly never part of Scaliger's library.⁸³

The books once owned by Scaliger are no longer shelved separately and have been dispersed amongst the library's collection. Relocations of the library during its more than 400-year history and internal changes make it difficult to trace some of Scaliger's books and manuscripts among the 3.5 million books in the current collection. The list drawn up by Vulcanius and the pre-1716 catalogues are certainly of help, but only partly so. Even the

⁸⁰ B. van Selm, *Een menighte treffelijke Boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HES, 1987), pp. 93–102.

⁸¹ For instance, Scaliger's copy of Pedro de Alcalá, *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana* (Granada: Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1505) [877 D 11].

⁸² For instance, a *Biblia Hebraica sine punctis* from 1639 and the *Novum Testamentum Graecum* printed in London in 1633 are wrongly recorded in the 1716 catalogue as part of the Scaliger bequest. The copy of the Greek New Testament of 1633 was already wrongly recorded as part of the bequest in the 1674 catalogue.

⁸³ Scaliger did own a copy of the Japanese book *Racuyoxu* (1598), but this copy was sold. The handwritten provenance in the copy of *Racuyoxu* in the library (SER 36) states that the book was given to the library in 1605 by Franco Duyck[ens] (†1628), burgomaster of Leiden between 1589 and 1616, who had received the manuscript from Reinier Pauw (1564–1636), an influential regent and administrator of the Dutch East Indian Company in Amsterdam.

1716 catalogue has many omissions and mistakes. The descriptions of Scaliger's legacy in these catalogues demonstrate a constant struggle to provide the scholarly world with accurate bibliographical descriptions, but also to show off the collection as part of an attempt to build the image of the University of Leiden as a centre for Oriental learning in Europe. Without any doubt Scaliger's legacy was crucial in this effort.

Example of successive descriptions of a book title, starting with the list of Vulcanius (pre 1609) and ending with the Online Catalogue (2011)

List Vulcanius	Zohar
Catalogue 1612	Zohar Cremonæ Hebræi folio 20
Catalogue 1674	זֹהָר Illustris Comm. Cabal. In Legem R. Schimeon Ben Jochai. Cremonæ 1559 Fol. 15
Catalogue 1716	זֹהָר Zohar. Illustris commentarius Kabbalisticus in legem R. Schimeon Ben Jochaj, Cremonæ 1559. in fol. Heb. 57
Online catalogue	<i>Simeon bar Jochai</i> , סֵפֶר הַזוֹהַר = Sefer ha-zohar 'al ha-Torah me-'išīqadosh hu nora me'od ha-tana Šim'on ben Yoḥ'ay ... 'im ḥidušim rabim wehamah sitre torah u-midraš ha-ne'elam we-tosefta' 'al qeṣat parašiyot ... we-ḥiduše ha-Bahir u-midraš Rut ... Be-Qremonah [= Cremona], Vitsentso Konti ube-veto [= Vincenzo Conti] [5]319–320 [=1558–1559]. [shelf mark 875 B 1]

252	IMPRESSI LEGATI SCALIGERIANI.	
	Impressi Legati Scaligeriani.	
	<i>In Folio.</i>	
מזקוק	Manus valida. Opus Talmudicum à R. Mose Majemonide in compendium redactum, & quidem stylo puro Hebraico. Ven. 2. vol.	1
	Biblia cum Comm. Rabb. Ven. apud Dan. Bomberg. 1528. edit. secunda, 4. vol.	2
	Talmud Babylonicum. edit. Marci Marini. Basil. apud Amb. Froben. 1581. 8. vol.	3
אורח חיים	Semita vitæ. Est prima pars libri Juridici ac ritualis R. Jacob F. Ascher, dicti <i>Arba Turim</i> , 4. ordines; cum Joseph Karo F. Ephraim Comment. prolixo vocato <i>Beth Joseph</i> Domus Josephi. Ven. edit. tertia.	4
	Pentateuchus cum Targ. Comment. R. Solom. & Mosis Ben Nachman. It. Comm. marg. Isaac Avuhaf. Ven.	5
מחורגמן	Interpres. Eliæ Levitæ Lexicon Chald. Isna 1541.	6
שורשים	Radices. Dav. Kimchii Lexicon Hebr. cum Eliæ Annotat. & signif. voc. Lat. in marg. Ven. apud Marc. Ant. Justinianum 1522.	7
	Idem. Neapoli 1490.	8
	Idem. Ven. apud Bomberg.	9
צמח דוד	Germen Davidis. Dav. de Pomis Lexicon Hebr. Ch. Rab. & Talm. cum vers. Lat. & Ital. Ven. 1587.	10
	Pagnini Enchiridion expositionis vocum Aruch, Targ. Midraschim, Bereschit, Schemot, Vajjikra, Midbar Rabba, & multorum aliorum Libror. Romæ 1523. cum Rabano de ecruce.	11
מלחמות השם	Bella Dei. Levi Ben Gerson Liber Phil. & Theol. Tridenti ad ripas Athesis, vulgo Riva de Trento. 1560.	12
מורה נבוכים	Doctor perplexorum Mosis Majemonidis. transl. ex Lingua Hagarena in Hebr. à Schemuel Bar Jehuda Ben Tibbon. Ven.	13
		Id.

Illustration 3.9. The description of the Hebrew books in folio of Scaliger's legacy in the 1674 catalogue. [Leiden University Library, 1016 D 40]



Illustration 3.10. Title page of Shimon bar Yochai, *Sefer Ha-Zohar* [...] (Cremona: Vincenzo Conti 1559). [Leiden University Library, 875 B 1]

PART TWO
INDIVIDUALS

CHAPTER FOUR

BOOKS FIT FOR A PORTUGUESE QUEEN: THE LOST LIBRARY OF CATHERINE OF AUSTRIA AND THE MILAN CONNECTION (1540)

Kevin M. Stevens

In memory of Robert M. Kingdon

On 29 January 1540 the Milanese bookseller Andrea Calvo and a Portuguese nobleman living in Milan, one Gonzalo Gomes, met in Calvo's house to formalize in writing the terms of a business contract.¹ Two months earlier, Gomes had deposited with his secretary 210 gold *scudi* (1,155 *lire*) for the purchase of 227 books from Calvo. Folded inside the contract is a written inventory of the books, representing a wide range of literary and linguistic interests in Greek, Latin and Italian. Whoever drew up the inventory organised the titles and/or authors into three distinct categories—*Libri Greci*, *Libri Latini*, and *Libri Vulgari*—each indicating a specific format size (folio, quarto, or octavo) as well as the type of decorative binding desired for each work, that is, *in oro* (gilt) or *senza oro* (without gilt). With only a few exceptions, Gomes wanted one copy of each title. And he wanted *most* of the books to be bound in leather and decorated in gold within six weeks of the date of the contract, at which time, according to the transaction, he would take delivery.²

Everything about this contract implies that Gomes was either building or adding to a personal library for which he was willing to spend a substantial sum of money. Indeed, I took the document as an extraordinary

¹ A version of this paper was first presented at the History of the Book Lecture, The Newberry Library, Chicago, 2007. I am deeply grateful to Annemarie Jordan, who read a draft of this essay and shared with me invaluable information on Queen Catherine. My thanks to the following for their assistance in preparing this essay: Isabelle de Conihout, Hugo Crespo, Arnaldo Ganda, Paul F. Gehl, Alessandra Greco, Karen Laramore, Federico Macchi, Bruce T. Moran, Angela Nuovo, Diana Robin, Jose Luis Gonzalo Sanchez-Molero. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the John and Marie Noble Endowment for Historical Research at the University of Nevada, Reno.

² *Archivio di Stato*, Milan (hereafter ASM), fondo notarile (FN), Cesare Carcano, 29 January 1540, filza 11179. The full contract is reproduced in the Appendix.

window on the collecting culture of late Renaissance nobility, who spent lavishly on books and other luxury and novelty goods (precious stones, plate, paintings, maps, textiles and antiquities, etc.) as much for their beauty and prestige as for their wealth.³ From the late fifteenth century forward, the overwhelming commercial success of printing with movable type had accelerated the trend toward book-collecting, as the proliferation of titles and editions in the hundreds of thousands brought an unprecedented range of literary and aesthetic choices to bibliophiles. Manufactured in multi-format sizes, bound in exquisite leathers, decorated in a wide variety of ornamental styles, and prominently displayed in household and institutional libraries, books were vital to the material, social, and intellectual patrimony of many of Europe's learned upper-classes.⁴ I wondered: was this also true of Gonzalo Gomes? After all, I knew nothing about his professional or educational background, or why he was living in Milan. As I began to conduct research on him and develop a preliminary biographical sketch, I discovered—to my surprise—that Gomes's books were not his own collection but someone else's, someone with a far more distinguished pedigree. This person was none other than Catherine of Austria (1507–1578), Habsburg infanta and queen of Portugal (r.1525–1558).

The youngest daughter of Juana I of Castile (1479–1555) and Philip of Burgundy (1478–1506), Catherine came to Portugal from Tordesillas in 1525 to marry her cousin, Joao III of Portugal (r. 1521–1557). The ceremony had been arranged by her brother, Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), who the following year wed Joao's sister, Isabella of Portugal (1503–1539). By

³ On the material wealth and habits of collecting among Renaissance elites more generally see Paula Findlen, 'Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance,' *American Historical Review*, 103, n. 1 (1998), pp. 83–114; Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York and London: Doubleday, 1996), esp. chapters 1, 6, and 7.

⁴ Scholarly literature on this subject is vast; excellent syntheses are provided by Paul Nelles, 'Libraries,' entry in *The Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999), vol. 3, pp. 420–424; Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 319–332; on royal libraries at the Spanish court of the early Hapsburgs, now indispensable is Jose Luis Gonzalo Sanchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca: El libro en la Corte Espanola de Carlo V*, 2 vols., (Merida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2005). Also valuable: Anthony Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, their Books and Bindings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); idem, 'A Sale by Candle in 1608,' *The Library*, 5th ser. 26 (1971), pp. 215–233; Angela Nuovo, 'The Creation and Dispersal of the Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli,' in *Books on the Move: Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade*, eds. Robin Meyers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press; London: The British Library, 2007), pp. 39–67; eadem, *Biblioteche private in eta' moderna e contemporanea* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2005).



Illustration 4.1. Nicolau Nelli, Engraving of Catherine of Austria, 1568. [Courtesy of Annmarie Jordan]

uniting the royal houses of Spain and Portugal through this double marriage between first cousins, Charles shrewdly advanced his own political interests in the Iberian Peninsula. Historians have seen Catherine as a pawn living in the shadow of the Habsburg court, dutifully promoting its policies from Lisbon. More recently, in a series of articles and in a forthcoming book on Catherine, Annmarie Jordan has substantially modified

this picture, drawing attention to her political savvy and independence from Charles, and throwing important new light on the administration of the queen's household and court and on the cultural milieu there.⁵ Acutely aware of her status as a foreign sovereign, Catherine used patronage and royal collecting to help define her identity at the Portuguese court. This essay explores another, mostly unknown side of Catherine's collecting, namely, her library, and how it came to Lisbon from Milan in 1540.

The Milan Connection

Gonzalo Gomes's early life eludes us. From ca. 1521–1536 he served at the court of Beatrice (1504–1538), the Duchess of Savoy, who was the Infanta of Manuel I (r. 1495–1521) of Portugal and the youngest sister of Joao III, and thus Catherine's sister-in-law. Beatrice made Gomes her treasurer (*thesaurarius*) and gave him the large responsibility of managing the expenses of her *damigelle* (ladies-in-waiting).⁶ Because Beatrice's duchy (extending from Piedmont to Lake Neuchatel in the Swiss provinces) was a gateway between Italy and northern Europe and thus strategically vital to Spanish and French foreign policy, it became entangled in the Habsburg-Valois struggle for control of the Italian peninsula. In March 1536, as French and Swiss armies overran Savoy and western Piedmont, Beatrice, her six-year old daughter, Caterina, and son Emanuele Filiberto, fled Turin for Vercelli and from there went to Spanish Milan, finding refuge in the city on 26 April 1536. They stayed for six months. Their arrival had not been accidental. Count Massimiliano Stampa, the powerful castellan of the Sforza castle, had already arranged for her lodging and entertainment there.⁷ Stampa would have received assistance in this matter from his

⁵ See especially her 'Portuguese Royal Collecting After 1521: The Choice Between Flanders and Italy,' in *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy*, ed. K.J.P. Lowe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); idem, 'Catherine of Austria: A Portuguese Queen in the Shadow of the Habsburg Court?' *Portuguese Studies Review*, 13 (2005), pp. 173–194. Dr Jordan kindly shared with me an English version of her forthcoming monograph on Catherine's life, to be published in Portuguese.

⁶ Gaudenzio Claretta, *Notizie Storiche intorno alla vita ed ai tempi de Beatrice di Portogallo, Duchessa di Savoia* (Turin: Tipografia eredi Botta, 1863), 126; Giovanni Fornaseri, *Beatrice di Portogallo duchessa di Savoia, 1504–1538* (Cuneo: S.A.S.T.E., 1957); L. Marini, 'Beatrice de Portogallo,' in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 7 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1965), pp. 363–367.

⁷ Arturo Segre, 'Documenti di Storia Sabauda dal 1510 al 1536,' in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, ser. 3, 39 (1903), pp. 5–295, at p. 128, note 2. While the duke of Savoy stayed in Milan only until 1 March, Beatrice remained until 9 October, when she left for Genoa.

personal secretary and paymaster, who at this time was none other than Andrea Calvo.⁸ If, as seems likely, Gonzalo Gomes accompanied the duchess to Milan with the rest of her retinue he would have met Calvo that year.

By late fall of 1536 Gomes and his wife, Anna de Moriellis, were living in the parish of San Marcellino, near the castle.⁹ Gomes continued to own a house with four shops in Turin, selling the property on 11 Sept 1540 for 1,000 gold *scudi*.¹⁰ In October 1537, still acting officially as Beatrice's treasurer, he expedited a delivery of 5,000 *scudi* sent by the Portuguese King (via Geneva) to the Duchess in Nice.¹¹ Another document from 15 March 1539 attests to Gomes's connections at the Hapsburg court. In it, Gomes appoints Leonor Mascarenhas (1503–1584) to be his *procurator* (legal representative) to collect debts from one 'Gomaro Lopes de Padilla hispano,' a legate at the court of Charles V.¹² It is worth noting that in 1526 Mascarenhas had accompanied Isabella of Portugal (King Manuel I's daughter) to Spain as her lady-in-waiting to celebrate Isabella's marriage to Charles V. Soon after Isabella's death on 1 May 1539, Charles appointed Leonor to be the governess of his children (the future Philip II, Maria, and Juana of Austria), thus making her directly responsible for their education. (Hence the thought crossed my mind that Gomes was sending books to the governess for the education of Charles's children). This piecemeal information shows that Gomes was not only wealthy but had connections in the highest political circles in Castile and Lisbon.

Like Gonzalo Gomes, Andrea Calvo (fl. ca. 1519–1547) also came from nobility, on the shores of Lake Como, making his living in the book and armour trades. Sixteenth-century Milan was celebrated for its specialty products: fine silk and wool fabrics, leather, arms and armour, but not for its books. This was due in part to the brutal Habsburg-Valois Wars in Italy (1494–1535), which devastated Milan's book industry, and to the dominance of Venice's publishing houses, which undercut rival book firms by flooding the Italian peninsula with a broad range of titles in high demand. Milan remained, however, a central hub in the commercial trade linking France with northern Italy (Piedmont and Lombardy) as well as a major

⁸ Calvo had served Stampa with this title since 1530, drawing a large annual salary of 300 gold ducats; see F. Barberi, 'Andrea Calvo,' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 17, (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1974), pp. 34–35.

⁹ ASM, FN, Lodovico Varese, 2 December 1536, filza 5552.

¹⁰ ASM, FN, Cesare Cattaneo, 11 September 1540, filza 9285.

¹¹ Claretta, *Notizie Storiche*, 99–100.

¹² ASM, FN, Cesare Cattaneo, 15 March, 1539, f. 9284.

transit for commerce with the Veneto, thus providing its merchants large access to publishing houses in Lyon and Venice, the largest importers of texts into Milan. Lyon in particular, with France's second largest book industry, gave Milanese bookmen crucial access to publications from the major north European book centres of Paris, Antwerp, Basel, and Cologne. Calvo was a central player in this trade.¹³ From ca. 1520–1540 he invested heavily in manufacturing and transporting large shipments of arms and armour to agents of the French Crown in Lyon and Avignon. Furthermore, using the same middlemen and lines of supply stretching from Lyon through the Duchy of Savoy (most likely by way of Asti, Trino and Vercelli) to Pavia and Milan, he ran a parallel operation importing large quantities of books into Piedmont and Lombardy. By 1540, Calvo boasted two bookshops and two warehouses in Milan as well as a branch store in Pavia. Meanwhile, he maintained a steady business with booksellers in Venice, making his son-in-law, Girolamo Scotto, a book merchant and Calvo's associate in Milan, his business agent in that city.¹⁴ As we will see below, most of the books sent to Catherine from Milan came from publishers in Lyon and Venice, dealers with whom Calvo had conducted business on a regular basis.

During the period 1536–1539, Calvo and Gomes had business transactions drafted by the same circle of notaries in Milan, implying that they were mutually acquainted at this time.¹⁵ Standing witness to their agreements, and thus making himself known to Gomes at this time, was Cesare Carcano, the notary who drew up the sales contract between Calvo and Gomes on 29 January 1540. Carcano, in fact, conducted his business out of a shop next to Calvo's bookstore/warehouse at the sign of the Anchor, located in the central Piazza dei Mercanti (Merchant's Square).¹⁶ So there are grounds for believing that as early as 1536, but no later than 1539, Gomes had been frequenting Calvo's bookshops (he had another one at the sign of the Sun in the same area) and thus had a good idea of the variety of titles Calvo had to offer his customers. As Catherine's agent, who apparently passed into the queen's service after Duchess Beatrice's death in 1538, Gomes would have communicated this information to the court in Lisbon. By late November 1539 he had received from Catherine's deputies, who would have already solicited advice from humanists and other *literati*

¹³ Kevin M. Stevens, 'New Light on Andea Calvo and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century Milan,' in *La Bibliofilia*, 103 (2001), n. 1, pp. 25–54.

¹⁴ Stevens, 'New Light,' esp. pp. 36–47.

¹⁵ The notaries were Lodovico Varesi, Cesare Carcano and Cesare Cattaneo.

¹⁶ ASM, FN, Giovanni Castiglione, 13 May 1556, f. 9813.

about the texts they wanted, a detailed list of the authors/titles he was to purchase along with instructions on how the books were to be bound.¹⁷

Binding Catherine's Books

To my knowledge, Catherine's books in their original bindings have disappeared without trace. Thus we have only a vague idea of what they might have looked like based on examples of bindings from other early-modern royal collections and from information provided by the 1540 sales contract.¹⁸

In late November 1539, two months before Calvo and Gomes drafted their agreement, Gomes deposited the full purchase price of the books (210 gold *scudi*) with his secretary, Francesco Bellono, who was instructed to pay Calvo upon receipt of the books. This important detail tells us a few things. First, Gomes was extending credit to Catherine, expecting to be repaid when the books arrived in Lisbon. Secondly, Calvo was departing from the standard business practice of extending short-term credit as part of the cost (and risk) of conducting business on a large scale. Though Catherine was clearly willing and able to pay for the books in one lump sum, Calvo's insistence that he be paid in full, instead of in increments, was connected to his own indebtedness at this time and the need to settle with creditors.¹⁹ Then too, that Gomes had deposited such a large sum of money in good faith implies that he and Calvo had already started discussing the details of the sale, including the titles and corresponding format sizes of the books, presumably to allow Calvo reasonable time to purchase seven titles he did not have in stock.²⁰ At this time too, he would have

¹⁷ By this time, Gomes had already deposited the full purchase price of the books with his secretary, and Calvo, in late January 1540, was still searching for seven titles he did not have in stock. Sanchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, p. 473, cites an analogous case in 1542/1543 where Gonzalo Perez, the secretary of Charles V, sent one Francesco de Tovar, a soldier stationed in Milan, two inventories of Greek authors and titles with instructions to purchase Aldine editions of these texts. My thanks to Prof. Jose Luis Gonzalo for his email describing this case.

¹⁸ Examples of such bindings (including a few from Milan) are reproduced in *Arte della Legatura a Brera (Storie di libri e biblioteche. Secoli XV e XVI*, ed. Federico Macchi, (Milan: Edizioni Linograf, 2002); and in Federico and Livio Macchi, *Dizionario Illustrato Della Legatura* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2002). For examples of designs made from ink impressions of binding tools from an early seventeenth century shop in Milan, see Kevin M. Stevens, "A Bookbinder in Early Seventeenth-Century Milan: The Shop of Pietro Martire Locarno" *The Library*, Sixth series, 18, n. 4, (1996), pp. 306–327, esp. 310–315. I am grateful to Isabelle de Conihout for sharing with me her research on eighteen bindings of books (most from the 1530s) owned by Francis I and preserved in the Escorial Library.

¹⁹ Stevens, 'New Light,' pp. 47–54.

²⁰ See appendix, clause # 5.

trimming, or blind tooling.²¹ Given the sophisticated level of bespoke work involved, gold tooling and ornamental finishing, Calvo most likely contracted the work out to independent craftsmen who, although they normally worked from their own shops, were dependent on the bookseller for commissions or sometimes even for tools.²² The case under consideration, where 227 books were to be bound and decorated within a six-week period, depended on this system of putting-out work. In order to meet the deadline and avoid incurring a fine, Calvo or one of his assistants would have sent the books out to a stable of binders, with each craftsman receiving a daily wage or, what is more likely, a pre-negotiated rate of pay for each binding completed.²³

Conspicuously, the contract is most concerned about the bindings. Written at the top of the second leaf of the inventory are the words *libri ligati in oro in 8mo* or 'books [to be] bound in gold leaf in octavo,' referring to 187 octavo volumes that follow on the list.

The rest of the books, those identified as quarto and folio volumes, are [to be bound] 'without gold.' (*Questi sequenti libri vano tutti senza oro, sono in 4mo et in foglio*). The contract is more precise about the nature of the bindings. They are "to be bound in the best binding possible [and] with a leather cover of the most beautiful and highest quality" (*ligatorum meliori ligature quam fieri poterit, cum copertis coraminis in meliori bonitate et pulchritudine quam fieri et esse possit*). Also, the binders are reminded to sew into each book twin sheets of papers (*ac etiam foliis deameatis et non deameatis...*) to protect the end papers. The contract does not specify the type or colour of the leather, which for stately bindings such as these might be morocco dyed red, blue, green or black.²⁴ Nor does it mention what sort of ornamental design(s) Catherine preferred, or whether she wanted her own *stemma* (heraldic device) stamped into the bindings.²⁵

²¹ On which Paul F. Gehl, "Day-by-Day on Credit: Binders and Booksellers in Cinquecento Florence" in *Anatomie Bibliologiche: Saggi di Storia del Libro per il centenario de La Bibliofilia*, ed. Luigi Balsamo and Pierangelo Bellettini (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1999), pp. 391–409; Anthony Hobson, "Two Early Sixteenth-Century Binder's Shops in Rome" in *De libris compactis Miscellanea*, ed. Georges Colin (Brussels: Bibliotheca Wittockiana, 1984), pp. 79–98.

²² Stevens, 'A Bookbinder,' pp. 317–320.

²³ See Paul F. Gehl, 'Describing (and Selling) Bindings in Sixteenth-Century Florence,' *Italian Studies*, 53 (1998), pp. 38–51, at p. 43.

²⁴ Gehl, 'Describing (and Selling) Bindings,' p. 44. See also Isabelle de Conihout's forthcoming study on Francis I's bindings in the Escorial.

²⁵ Catherine used heraldic devices in the leather covers of her inventories (e.g. that of 1528), adopting the arms and *divisa* of Manuel I, including his armillary sphere. My thanks to Annemarie Jordan for this information.

Libri ligati in oro 18°	
2 Pomponius mella	1 Duellu Epistolane
1 Retorica trapesuntz	1 De veltalatin Simonis p mltatice
2 Interpretationes in homerū	1 De corruptis sm. rmondahane
1 opa Cipriani i. r. uot	1 Descriptio beluoniu confugum
1 Aulus gelius	1 Epte tullij ad att
1 Apopstigmata plutarchi	1 Epte tullij familiaris
1 Aelius sparhamus	1 Epte plinij
1 Ausonius	1 Epte berni
1 Asianus alexandrinus	1 Epte archim
1 Antonius Ariannus	1 Epte Angeli Politiani
1 Asconius pedianus	1 Europa et Asia Page pij
1 Aristophanes traductus	1 Epitome totius orbis
1 Apuleius	1 Ellucidarius poeicus
1 Budens de studio	1 Exercitatio lingue latine
1 Boetius	1 Epte ovidij
1 Cronica brabantie	1 Enchiridio molari
1 Cronica mundi	1 Flores ex tenebris
1 Cronica galacij Capelle	1 Philostratus de vita apoloni
1 Cronica motis ferrati	1 Germanorum res geste
1 Cometaria Cesaris	1 Grac biblandri
1 Claudianus	1 Grac susbroth
1 Catullus Tibullus Propertius	1 Horatius
1 Collumella	1 Homeri op. i. r. uot
1 Confabulationes Herij	1 Historia polibij
1 Ciceronis titi liuy	1 Historia regu aragonensiu
1 Constantinus de re vafica	1 Hadrianus de sm. latino
1 Conclusiones Jo. picci	1 Herodotus
1 Coimmi philopli	1 Historia psegumhorni Africa
1 De Institutione principis	1 Hutleri poetica
1 Diogenes Laertius	

Illustration 4.3. Detail from the inventory of Catherine's books, ASM, FN, Cesare Carcano, 29 January 1540, f. 11179. [Reproduced by permission of the Archivio di Stato, Milan]

Presumably Calvo and Gomes had already negotiated a price for the cost of doing decorative work (blind tooling, providing coloured edges or a fairly standard ornamental pattern) as part of the total sales price. According to the third clause, the title of each book was to be stamped

visibly on the cover in letters of equal size, costing three *soldi* extra per book. Gomes supplied Calvo with ribbon, most likely for making ties. Overall, then, these upper-end bindings were as essential to Catherine's self-image as they were to the social and cultural meaning of the books themselves.

Catherine's Books (1540)

Catherine was an avid collector of precious and rare objects. Her collection included, among other wares, Flemish illuminated manuscripts and tapestries, early Netherlandish paintings, family jewellery, furniture, as well as exotica such as precious gems, coral, ivory gaming boards, paper folding fans, Indian gold and crystal statuettes, Chinese porcelain, Japanese lacquers and imported animals: objects acquired from her colonies in Asia and the Near East. It was, according to Annemarie Jordan, Renaissance Portugal's first significant *Kunstkammer* (Collection of Curiosities), linked directly to Catherine's identity as a Portuguese Queen, Habsburg princess, and merchant queen of a far-flung empire.²⁶ Exemplifying the long tradition of cultural exchange between Portugal and Italy, as well as the growing attraction among Portuguese royalty at this time for Italian and classical culture (art, architecture, sculpture, book production and literature), Catherine during the 1530s and 1540s began collecting Italian valuables, corresponding with agents and third parties who kept her informed of Italy's rich commercial markets.²⁷ In 1534, for instance, she purchased a book of hours from Venice, and in 1541 she acquired an ivory clock from Milan. Later, in 1552, she imported through a Venetian merchant in Lisbon several hundred pieces of Venetian glass.²⁸ These are but a few of the many acquisitions made for Catherine by her agents in Italy.

Catherine collected books too, building her library incrementally over time. In 1901, the Portuguese historian Sousa Viterbo published a study of Catherine's library up to 1534, based on records of purchases of books made by her agents through that year.²⁹ Most of these transactions

²⁶ Jordan, 'Portuguese Royal Collecting,' idem, 'Catherine of Portugal,' pp. 183–188.

²⁷ Kate Lowe, 'Understanding Cultural Exchange Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance,' in *Cultural Links*, pp. 1–16.

²⁸ Jordan, 'Portuguese Royal Collecting,' p. 281.

²⁹ F.M. Sousa Viterbo, 'Livreria de D. Rainha D. Catharina,' in *A Livreria Real, especialmente no reinado de D. Manuel I* (Toledo: Tipografia da Academia, 1901), pp. 26–41.

were made by Portuguese booksellers working in Lisbon on behalf of the Cromberger publishing house, the largest publishing firm in both Spain and Portugal at this time and, not surprisingly, Catherine's major book supplier.³⁰ Her library in 1534 was a modest collection of sixty-five titles. It included French and Spanish editions of Virgil, Horace, Seneca, Terence, Ovid, and Lucan, volumes she used for the education of her household and chapel boys.³¹ There were also editions by Petrarch, Marcus Aurelius, Julius Caesar, and Quintus Curtius. Apparently she favoured works on religious doctrine, morals, and philosophy, such as the *Epistolae morales* of Seneca, the *Decades* of Livy, and works by Erasmus. Another segment included works of devotion, books of hours and saints' lives.

Catherine's 1540 collection of books is, by contrast, strikingly different from her library of 1534. It is nearly four times larger, betrays a greater variety of subjects and titles, and thus reflects a noticeable shift in reading preference. One finds considerably more titles in the core humanistic subjects of rhetoric, history, poetry, grammar and pedagogy, and there are several others on, for example, Roman architecture (# 211), botany (# 149), geography (e.g. # 17, 19, 34, 58, 59, 200), ancient medicine (# 198), ancient costumes (# 95), cooking recipes (# 135), the medicinal properties of precious stones (# 99), astrology/cosmology (#s 97, 100), hunting (# 108) and naval/military history (#s 94, 150). The collection divides into five distinct categories:

- (1) Eighteen titles of twenty-one volumes described as *libri greci*, in folio or quarto formats, representing well-known ancient Greek authors. All are in Greek.
- (2) Eleven titles described as *libri latini*, including works by Church Fathers and saints, as well as titles by Aristotle and Plato. Most are multi-volume editions.
- (3) Another section of books in quarto and folio formats to be bound without gold, representing a wide variety of Latin and vernacular texts.

³⁰ Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988). Many of the purchases were made by the booksellers Afonso Lourenco and Luis Rodrigo, on whom see Griffin, pp. 28, 43.

³¹ Jordan, 'Catherine of Austria,' p. 180.

- (4) Thirty-three titles in Italian (*libri vulgari*), all octavos, many representing the works of bestselling Italian authors. All are to be bound in gold.
- (5) 139 titles of 141 volumes, all octavos, covering a wide range of subjects. All are to be bound in gold.

The inventory itself survives in a highly legible hand, organised economically into columns on five folio sheets. But as a record of account and legal document, folded inside the contract for safekeeping, it has its limitations as a source of information. Several entries list the name of the author only, when multiple titles are possible. And each entry (with a few exceptions) omits the name of the publisher as well as the date and place of publication. Even with these limitations, bibliographical sources (including the indispensable online *EDIT16* census) can help us narrow down, or in some instances identify, a publisher and place of publication.³² Several of Catherine's books had been published recently in Basel, Cologne, and Paris, works Calvo acquired from dealers in Lyon.³³ The overwhelming majority of the titles, however, came from presses in Lyon and Venice. This is most evident for the Latin and vernacular octavos, which make up eighty per cent (187 volumes) of the collection. By the 1530s these less-expensive, highly portable books were in high demand throughout Europe; clearly, publishers in Venice and Lyon capitalised on this trend, offering their customers a wide variety of pocket-sized Latin and vernacular titles.

This is apparent, for example, in the relatively large number of anthologies of letters on the list: works by Ovid, Cicero, Pliny, Bembo, Franco, Aretino and Poliziano. During the 1530s and 1540s pedagogues favoured Latin and vernacular editions of this genre as models for teaching Latin

³² For this study I used the following bibliographical sources: *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* (EDIT16: online source); *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian Books Printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Library* (London: The British Library, 1986), *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in France and of French Books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1966); Henri Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle* (Lyon-Paris, Brun-Picard, 1895–1921, 1959) 13 vols; Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, pp. 143–201.

³³ At least four of the Greek texts were published in either Paris (#s 4, 7) or Basel (#s 9, 17); at least eight Patristic titles (#s 212, 213, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222) most likely came from presses in Basel or Paris. Other titles very likely came from Basel (#s 28, 32, 55, 81, 83, 100, 109, 120, 191), Cologne (#s 58, 65, 75, 87, 117) or Paris (#s 61, 99, 131, 149, 151, 153, 192).

prose writing.³⁴ Catherine also preferred works of rhetoric by ancient and modern Greek and Latin writers: Cicero, Quintilian, Statius, Theophrastus, Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, Lucian, Hermogenes, Demosthenes, Xenophon, George of Trebizond, Erasmus Sarcarius, Johann Caesarius, and Erasmus, among others. There is also an abundance of titles by ancient Greek and Roman and early Christian historians, such as Thucydides, Herodotus, Julius Caesar, Plutarch, Livy, Polybius, Rufus Curtius, Pomponius Mela, Appian of Alexandria, Cassiodorus, and Xenophon among others. The study of history, and especially of ancient Rome, was central to Renaissance humanistic pedagogy, providing models of moral virtue, descriptions of battles, military strategy and geography, examples of laws and institutions, and lessons on the diverse fortunes of men.³⁵

The most striking feature of the collection, however, is the extraordinary selection of titles, too numerous to list here, devoted to Latin grammar, versification, pedagogy, and Latin eloquence, many of which concern rhetoric and morality. These works occupy fully one-third of the entire collection. The perennially-popular Cicero stands out with his *De amicitia*, *De officiis*, *De oratore*, *Rhetorica*, *Epistolae familiares*, *Epistolae ad Atticum* and *Tusculanae Quaestiones*. So does the Valencian-born educator Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540). In 1531 Vives dedicated his most ambitious work, *De disciplinis libri xx*, a critical survey ‘on the causes of corrupt learning’ and of the humanities curriculum more generally, to Catherine’s husband, Joao III. Other pedagogical works of his (#s 61, 81, 83) informed the early education of Catherine’s nephew, Prince Philip of Spain and future King Philip II.³⁶ Vives dedicated his bestselling *Colloquia sive linguae Latinae exercitatio*, a book of dialogues that teaches adolescents good Latin and good manners, to the eleven-year old Prince Philip.³⁷ Two titles by Vives’s friend, Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), whose pedagogical works enjoyed tremendous success in Iberia at this time, also appear on the list.³⁸

³⁴ Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 107. As Richardson points out, even the *Letters* of Aretino (# 170) would have ‘satisfied readers’ curiosity by giving them behind-the-scenes glimpses of the private lives and emotions ... of the pillars of the literary establishment as well as its lesser members.’ That fact that Aretino’s *Letters* were first issued in 1538 (Venice: Marcolini) and appear on Catherine’s book list by 1539 speaks to the author’s reputation for scandal and gossip in Lisbon at this time.

³⁵ Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 255–263.

³⁶ Sanchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 454.

³⁷ Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 199–201.

³⁸ *Erasmus en Espana: La Recepcion del Humanismo en El Primer Renacimiento Espanol* (Salamanca: Sociedad Estatal para la Accion Cultural Exterior, 2002). Erasmus’ works

Of course, Erasmus wrote the *Institutio Principis Christiani* (# 47) in 1516 as textbook advice for the fifteen-year old Prince Charles I, the future Charles V. His other work here (# 50) addresses the correct pronunciation of classical Greek. Erasmus's singular influence on sixteenth-century pedagogy is seen in the *Confabulationes tironum litterariorum* (# 42) of Hermann Shottenius Hessus (ca. 1503–1546). Written in imitation of Erasmus's *Colloquies* and set in Cologne, the *Confabulationes* is a series of Latin colloquies designed to help schoolchildren master classical-Latin conversation.³⁹ Another title on the list worth mentioning (# 51) is the *De corrupti sermonis emendatione libellus* which targets the corrupt state of Latin among French schoolchildren and the need to reform it with a classical Latin free from error. The author, Maturin Cordier (1479–1564), a French humanist/schoolmaster who taught in primary schools in Paris, Lausanne, and Geneva, provides no less than 1,800 faulty Latin expressions used by students with corrections, arranged alphabetically into fifty-eight chapters. Maturin's pedagogy, like that of other Christian humanists, combined elegance of language with exhortations to live a pious Christian life.⁴⁰

Also found on Catherine's list and belonging to the same genre of Latin eloquence and grammar are titles dealing with jokes, witticisms, and word play, known generically as *facetiae*. Rooted in the rhetorical tradition of Cicero and Quintilian, they typically appear as short stories, apothegms, fables and epigrams.⁴¹ Word play of this sort was popular at the Italian Renaissance court, to be used judiciously and gracefully as Baldesar Castiglione reminds us in Book II of his bestselling *Libro del Cortegiano* (# 162 on the inventory). Even less erudite men like Leonardo Da Vinci found *facetiae* to be highly entertaining and edifying reading.⁴² So did Queen Catherine. She purchased, for example, Plutarch's *Apophthegmata*, the *Epigrammaton* of Martial, Nicolaus Borbonius's *Nugae* (trifles), possibly the *Epigrammata* of Ausonius, Polydore Vergil's *Adagia*, and the *Ioci* (jokes) of Otmar Nachtigall (Luscinius) (1487–1537), the well-known Strasbourg humanist and acquaintance of Erasmus. In the *Ioci* Nachtigall

appear in quantity in the libraries of Catherine's sister, Queen Mary of Hungary, and Philip II; see Sanchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, vol. 2, pp. 301–306; 427–431.

³⁹ Peter Macordle, *Confabulations: Cologne Life and Humanism in Hermann Schotten's Confabulationes tironum litterariorum* (Cologne: 1525), (Durham: Durham University, 2007).

⁴⁰ See Bernard Cottret, *Calvin, a Biography* (Grand Rapids: Eerdsman Publishing Co; Edinburgh: T&T Clarke Ltd, 2000), pp. 13–15.

⁴¹ Barbara Bowen, 'Renaissance Collections of *facetiae*, 1499–1528,' in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39 (1986), pp. 263–275.

⁴² Charles Nicholl, *Leonardo da Vinci: Flights of the Mind* (New York: Penguin, 2004), p. 215, notes Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae* among the titles in Leonardo's library.

arranges 232 witty Latin and Greek sayings into subject headings such as *muliebris procacitas* (womanly impudence), *medicus garrulous* (the prattling doctor), *grammaticorum mala* (the bad state of grammar), *bibendi necessitas* (the necessity of drinking), and so on.⁴³

While Catherine's inventory illuminates the texts read at her court, it also shows that she and her advisors had kept a close eye on publication trends in order to purchase specific, up-to-date editions. This is obvious with the miscellaneous titles to be bound without gold (#s 191–211). Most of these indicate a specific format size (folio or quarto); some single out a particular publisher (e.g. Aldus), translator (e.g. Gian Giorgio Trissino) or commentator (e.g. Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo), or indicate a unique decorative feature (e.g. *configure*) or whether the volume includes other works by the author (*congiunto*). Several entries (especially the patristic works, #s 212–222) designate multi-volume editions, and with Origen's *Opera* (Basel: 1536), Textor's *Officinae* (Venice: 1537), Cicero's *Orationes* (Lyon: 1536/1539), Ovid's *Opera* (Lyon: 1536; Paris: 1537), Pliny's *Naturalis historiae* (Venice: 1536) and Appian's *Delle guerre civili/esterne* (Venice: 1538) one can fairly assume that Catherine and/or her advisors had been shopping for recently published editions. The same can be said for many octavos on the list.

As for texts dedicated to rhetoric, grammar and eloquence, although several commonplace choices stand out, such as Cicero, Virgil, Terence, Ovid, Trebizond, Erasmus and Valla, recent works by northern humanists (most of them German) had also gained the Queen's attention. These include, for example, Johann Caesarius's *Rhetorica* (Leipzig: 1535, Paris: 1538, 1539), Hermann Shottenius Hessus's *Confabulationes* (Cologne: 1525, Antwerp: 1537), Eobanus Helius Hessus's *Sylvae* (Hagenow: 1535), Ulrich von Hutten's anti-papal *Opera poetica* (Strasbourg: 1538), George Maior's *Sententie veterum poetarum* (Antwerp: 1534, Cracow: 1536), Jacob Omphalius's *De suscipienda Christianae* (Cologne: 1538), Jean Pellisson's *Rudimenta... grammatices* (Paris: 1533, Lyon: 1531, 1536), Joachim van Ringleberg's *Lucubrationes... de ratio studi* (Basel: 1538), Erasmus Sarcerius's *Rhetorica* (Marburg: 1537), George Sabinus's *Poemata* (Halle: 1537) and Joannes Susenbrotus's *Grammaticae artis institutio* (Ravensburg: 1535, Leipzig, 1539). By 1540, Hessus, Hutten, Maior (Meier), and Sarcerius were all well-known Protestants, as was Maturin Cordier and another

⁴³ Copy consulted at the Newberry Library, Chicago (Case Y 6894. 528 n.p. pref. 1524); Bowen, 'Renaissance Collections,' p. 271.

author on the list, Joachim Vadianus, whose *Epitome topographica totius orbis* (# 59) was publically banned by Charles V in September 1540.⁴⁴

The appearance on Catherine's list of titles authored by Protestants or those sympathetic to religious reform may best be explained by the fact that Catherine and her highly-educated sisters, Leonor of Austria (1498–1558) and Mary of Hungary (1505–1558), were all unusually progressive in their outlook, open to alternative educational theories and religious beliefs and inclined to a more personalised form of Christianity and worship.⁴⁵ Such a willingness to accept unorthodox points of view may also account for two recent works of religious prose on the list, the *Il Genesi* (Venice: 1538, 1539) and *Humanita' di Christo* (Venice: 1535, 1538/1539), written by the infamous *poligrafo* Pietro Aretino (1492–1556). Both works articulate Aretino's Evangelism and his skill at adapting, through colourful narrative language, a variety of scriptural and non-traditional sources (e.g. apocrypha and biblical legends) to the principal mysteries and stories of the Old and New Testaments. Two decades later, the Pauline Index (1559) would condemn all of Aretino's works.

Catherine's library raises two crucial questions: why did she fill it with so many titles on Latin grammar, pedagogy, poetry, rhetoric, and eloquence? And did she intend these texts to be read by others, besides her?

In answering these questions, it is worth noting that Catherine's mother, Juana of Castile, who was fluent in French and an accomplished Latinist, had received a humanistic education at the court of her mother, Isabella of Castile (1451–1504).⁴⁶ Juana took great care in developing Catherine's literary tastes and education. In 1522, at the age of 15, Catherine received formal training in Latin.⁴⁷ Her own library in 1534 (described above), which includes books she had plundered from her mother's library before she arrived in Lisbon in 1525, shows an abiding interest in classical and humanistic literature. By this time she was apparently fluent in Latin and

⁴⁴ *Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Franz Heinrich Reusch, (Tubingen: 1886, rpt. Nieuwkoop, 1961), p. 25. Works by von Hutten and Sarcerius were also listed on Italy's first Index of Prohibited Books, issued by the Milanese Senate in 1538; see Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 73–74.

⁴⁵ I am grateful to Annemarie Jordan for sharing this information with me in an email. According to Jordan, Catherine and her sisters all owned and read prohibited books. Then too, Catherine apparently had good relations with the large community of German merchants who lived in Lisbon and who worked as agents for the Fuggers and other Augsburg families.

⁴⁶ Jordan, 'Catherine of Austria,' p. 180; Gonzalo Sanchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, pp. 43–88.

⁴⁷ Gonzalo Sanchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, pp. 155–156.

could read Greek.⁴⁸ Naturally, she wanted to give her children the same sort of education she herself had received from Juana.

Catherine no doubt planned to use her collection for the future education of her son, John, who in April 1539, at age 2, became heir to the throne with the death of his brother, Prince Philip. John would later marry Philip II's sister, Juana, in 1552. And yet, there is compelling evidence that Catherine had in mind for her library a specific reading programme for other members of her household as well, including her noble ladies-in-waiting and two princesses at court. One of these was her teenage, and only, daughter Maria (1527–1545), who in 1543, at age 16, became Philip II's first wife. Catherine carefully groomed her to be the future Queen of Spain. She supervised every aspect of Maria's early education, assembling a select group of tutors to prepare her intellectually in Latin and Greek literature, moral philosophy, doctrine, and so on, for her role as Spanish Queen.⁴⁹ These *latinistas*, Luisa Sigea de Velasco (1522–1560) and Joanna Vaz (active at the Lisbon court from 1540–ca.1570), also tutored Catherine's niece, also named Maria (1521–1577), the daughter of Leonor of Austria, Catherine's sister, and King Manuel I.⁵⁰ In 1538 and again in 1539, for example, Catherine acquired books on Christian doctrine specifically for Vaz's lessons with Maria.⁵¹ This Maria, who became Catherine's ward two years after Leonor left the Lisbon court for good in 1523 (she would marry Francis I in 1530), grew up with Catherine's daughter and would later become an accomplished Latinist and scholar. As Duchess of Viseu (in Portugal) she established her own literary salon at court, filled it with erudite women, such as Sigea and Vaz, and actively promoted their writings as well as those of Luis de Camoes (1524–1580), Renaissance Portugal's most famous poet.⁵²

By the standards of the day, when courtly libraries ranged in size from several hundred to thousands of volumes (Catherine's elder sister, Mary of

⁴⁸ Jordan, 'Catherine of Austria,' p. 180.

⁴⁹ Information obtained from an English copy of Annemarie Jordan's forthcoming manuscript on Catherine.

⁵⁰ On Sigea de Velasco and Vaz, Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, *A Infanta Dona Maria de Portugal (1521–1577) e as suas Damas* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1983).

⁵¹ See Annemarie Jordan's forthcoming monograph on Catherine.

⁵² Jordan, 'Portuguese Royal Collecting,' p. 269. Maria's literary salon raises the question whether she had been inspired by the literary salons inaugurated by Maria d'Aragona (wife of Marchese Alfonso del Vasto, the governor of Milan) and Vittoria Colonna in the Italian cities of Ischia, Naples, Milan and Pavia from 1538–1546; on which Diana Robin, *Publishing Women: Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), ch. 1.

Hungary, the Regent of Spanish Netherlands, boasted a library of 332 volumes; in 1544 Francis I's collection at Fontainebleau numbered 2,686 texts),⁵³ Queen Catherine's collection of 227 books must be considered modest at best. Perhaps she wanted it that way. True, Catherine elevated herself culturally and socially through her books. But they were never meant to be solely or even primarily a grandiose showpiece collection, an elegant ornament to be admired among the hundreds of other precious and exotic artefacts she assembled and put on display in her royal palace at Lisbon. Rather, Catherine's library was largely a model curriculum in the humanities, one intended for reading by family and household members. It taught them ancient wisdom, Latin eloquence, and Christian morality; trained them for public life; and provided them with intellectual recreation. Insofar as Catherine was known for her patronage and gift-giving, qualities she exploited to cement family relations and promote her own prestige and self-image,⁵⁴ it is easy to imagine how the gorgeous little octavos which made up eighty per cent of her collection would have made fine gifts for the princesses, ladies-in-waiting, courtiers, pages, friends, and other members of her household.⁵⁵

Epilogue

When did Catherine receive her books? How did they arrive from Milan? What happened to the collection after her death in 1578? Current scholarship offers no firm answers.

On 24 November 1542, according to the account book of Catherine's treasurer, one of her agents, Francisco Roiz, received 10,400 *reais* as reimbursement for a payment he made to 'Gonzalo Gomes from Milan'.⁵⁶ The entry states that Gomes had sent the books to Catherine, and that Roiz personally delivered them to the Lisbon royal palace and literally 'put

⁵³ Jose Luis Gonzalo Sanchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, vol. 2, pp. 241–411; Nelles, 'Libraries,' p. 422.

⁵⁴ Jordan, 'Catherine of Austria,' p. 193.

⁵⁵ On the social significance and meaning of gift-giving for elites in the early modern period see Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

⁵⁶ Roiz belonged to a Lisbon merchant family and often worked for the queen. Later in the 1550s another Roiz would help negotiate the acquisition of Flemish tapestries for Catherine in Brussels.

them in the Queen's hands.⁵⁷ Catherine complained to Roiz in a letter about their great expense.

Gonzalo Gomes drafted a last will and testament in Milan on 6 January 1552; however, the document does not survive.⁵⁸ By June 1554 he had passed away. Soon after his death, Gomes's wife, Anna de Moriellis, settled her daughter's dowry for the substantial sum of 7,700 *lire*.⁵⁹ Four months later she purchased for 1,680 *lire* at least twenty *pertiche* (three acres) of land and a building located in the village of Pregnana, north of Milan.⁶⁰ Other documents at this time offer tantalising information about Gomes's family in Milan. His brother-in-law, Diogo (Moriellis's brother), and a Portuguese business partner in Lisbon, one Francisco Rodrigues Milano, were importing sugar and diamonds into the Lombard capital through Genoa, the major port for Habsburg Milan. One of their suppliers was no less a figure than Don Joao de Melo e Castro, the powerful Inquisitor of Lisbon and, from 1549, Bishop of Algarve.⁶¹ Furthermore, a letter preserved in the *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, in which Gonzalo Gomes is addressed as a 'Portuguese merchant in Milan,' begs the question whether he had been involved in his brother-in-law's lucrative business.⁶² Indirectly, it asks us to imagine how Catherine's books arrived in Lisbon. Given the high costs and perils of long-distance travel at this time (the overland distance from Milan to Lisbon is well over 1,000 miles) it is conceivable that they were packed into cases, transported to Genoa, and shipped by sea to Lisbon, this being the most economical and direct way of sending the collection to the Queen.⁶³

⁵⁷ Reproduced in F.M. Sousa Viterbo, 'A Livraria,' p. 30: "10,400 reais a franciso Roiz em pagamento de certos livros que gomcalo Gomez de milano enviou a dita Senhora (Catherine) e forano entegras em sua manao o quall ecreveo ao dito Francisco Roiz que tanto fizerano os ditos livros de custo e que os arrecadase de sua Alteza por mandado a xxiiij de novembro de 1542 e seu conhecimento em xxix do dito mes e era". My thanks to Annemarie Jordan for sharing this transcription with me.

⁵⁸ ASM, Fondo rubriche, Giovanni Giacomo Baroffio, # 386. Unfortunately the document is missing in Baroffio's filza. # 10340, 1549–1555.

⁵⁹ ASM, FN, Giovanni Giacomo Baroffio, 22 June 1554, f. 10341.

⁶⁰ Idem, 14 October 1554, f. 10341.

⁶¹ Idem, 2 May 1554, f. 13041; 25 April 1555, f. 10341. On Joao de Melo see the entry by Ana Cristina da Costa Gomes, in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. Adriano Prosperi (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010), vol.1, p. 304. I am grateful to Hugo Crespo for bringing this information to my attention.

⁶² Biblioteca Ambrosiana, *Perg.* 7292. Written from Rome, the letter (undated but clearly sixteenth century) is addressed 'Al magnifico y muy virtuoso senor Gonzalo Gomes mercader Portuguese en Millan.' I am grateful to Angela Nuovo for bringing this document to my attention.

⁶³ Of course, transportation by sea had its own unique risks, as exemplified by the loss in 1608 of one-third of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's magnificent library, plundered by pirates

As far as I know, Catherine of Austria's library of 227 books, documented in writing in Milan in late January 1540 and presumably sent to her in Lisbon later that year, is lost without trace. No inventory of her estate was taken after her death in February 1578.⁶⁴ Six months later, Catherine's grandson, King Sebastian of Portugal, along with a large number of aristocrats perished in battle in North Africa. Chaos reigned shortly thereafter. It is likely that Catherine's books (indeed her entire cultural collection) were plundered and then dispersed when the Spanish monarchy incorporated the Portuguese crown in 1580. It is my hope, then, that this article will inspire scholars to conduct a systematic search for Catherine's books in the libraries of Iberia and elsewhere.

Appendix 1

29 January 1540 Milan. Contract with provisions between Andrea Calvo and Gonzalo Gomes, whereby Calvo agrees to deliver 227 books to Gomes by 10 March 1540, at which time Calvo receives 210 gold scudi from Gomes's agent, Francesco Bellono. (Source: Archivio di Stato, Milan, notarile, Cesare Carcano, f.1179).

Magister dominus Andreas Calvus filius quondam domini Georgii porte Romane parochie sancte Marie Secrete parte una et magnificus dominus Gonzales portugallensis filius quondam comitis Alfonsi Gomes porte Orientalis parochie sancti Pauli in Compedo Mediolani parte altera, voluntarie, etc devenerunt ad infrascripta pacta conventiones et accordia inviolabiliter inter eos mutue in omnibus stipulatione vallata attendenda et observanda ut infra videlicet.

[1] Primo convenerunt et conveniunt quod prefatus Andreas Calvus teneatur et obligatus sit hinc ad diem decimam mensis martii proxime futuram dare et consignare predicto domino Gonzali, presenti item in predicta civitate Mediolani, infrascriptam quantitatem et numerum capitum librorum diversi generis descriptorum in infrascripta lista ligatorum meliori ligatura quam fieri poterit, cum copertis coraminis in meliori bonitate et pulcretudine quam fieri et esse possit ac etiam foliis deameatis [sic geameatis] et non deameatis prout in dicta infrascripta lista continetur tenoris subsequentis videlicet:

and thrown into the sea off the coast of Ancona; see Hobson, 'A Sale by Candle.' On Pinelli's library, Nuovo, 'Creation and Dispersal of the Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli.'

⁶⁴ According to an email I received from Annemarie Jordan, 14 September, 2007.

Ponatur [lista]

[2] Et hoc pretio et mercato inter eos contrahentes facto etc. scutorum ducentum decem auri italorum boni et iusti ponderis. Que scuta ducentum decem auri itala, predictus dominus Gonzales depositavit et in depositum dedit domino Francisco Bellono iam mensibus duobus proxime preterit ad effectum danda et illa solvenda et exbursanda predicto domino Andree Calvo pro solutione et satisfactione dictorum librorum in actu traditionis et consignationis eorundem.

[3] Item convenerunt et convenient quod predictus dominus Andreas teneatur etc. poni facere nominem seu titulum dictorum librorum debite refferendo super dictis libris videlicet exterius coperture eorundem litteris deameatis. Et pro solutione dicte intitulationis dictus dominus Gonzales teneatur etam dare et solvere etc. ultra dicta scuta ducentum decem sol-dos tres imperiales pro quolibet libro intitulado ut *supra* cum omnibus expensis.

[4] Item convenerunt et ut *supra* quod dictus dominus Gonzales teneatur, etc. dare et tradere predicto domino Andree omnia illa quantitatem bindelli necessarij pro dictis libris.

[5] Item convenerunt et ut *supra* quod predictus dominus Andreas teneatur etc. etiam dare et consignare ut *supra* in dicto termino alia capita septem librorum ultra premissa descripta in dicta lista absque solutione de eo quod comprehensa sunt in pretio dictorum scutorum ducentum decem. Et casu quo non darentur et consignarentur exigij quod pretium illorum detrahatur pro mercede vero detrahenda a dicto pretio concordato ad ratam, congrue congruis refferendo.

Item convenerunt et ut *supra* quod presens instrumentum possit pluries expleri, etc.

Qua re dicte partes et utraque earum promisserunt etc. obligando etc. pigneri sibi vicissim etc. attendere et observare etc. predicta omnia etc. sub refectione omnium expensarum et ulterius sub pena scutorum centum auri dandorum per partem non attendentem parti attendenti etc. et ulterius etc.

Actum in domo habitations predicti domini Andree site ut *supra* presentibus Iohanne Francisco Figino filio domini Hieronimi porte Cumane parochie sancte Marie Secrete Mediolani et Aluisio de Sexto filio domini Baptiste porte Romane parochie sancti Nazari in Brolio intus Mediolani pronotariis etc.

Testes dominus Baptiste de Merate filius domini Georgii porte Ticinensis parochie sancte Marie Beltradis Mediolani notus et Francisco

Marchixinius filius domini Ambrogii porte Orientalis parochie sancti Babile intus Mediolani.

Appendix 2

Inventory of Books Sent to Catherine of Austria from Milan in 1540

Libri Greci

- [1] 1 Alexander aphrodiseus in priora [Alexander Aphrodisiensis. *In Priora resolutaria Aristotelis Stagiritae explanatio*]
- [2] 1 Amonius in predicamenta [Ammonius, Hermeae. *In Aristotelis praedicamenta commentaria*]
- [3] 2 Eustrachius in eticha [Eustratius. *In ethica Nicomachea*]
- [4] 1 Tucidides [Thucydides. Title unspecified]
- [5] 1 Herodotus [Herodotus. Title unspecified]
- [6] 2 Luciani opera [Lucian of Samosata. *Works*]
- [7] 2 opera Crisososti in 6 vols. [Chrysostom. *Opera, tomus primus (-sextus)*]
- [8] 1 Moralia plutarchi [Plutarch. *Moralia*]
- [9] 1 Demostemis orationes cum congiuntis [Demosthenes. *Orationes*]
- [10] 1 orationes Isocratis [Isocrates. *Orationes selectae or Orationes et epistole*]
- [11] 1 orationes Aeschines [Aeschines.]
- [12] 1 opera platonis [Plato. *Omnia opera*]
- [13] 1 suidas [Suidas. possibly *Etymologicum magnum graecum*]
- [14] 1 Atheneus [Athenaeus. *Naucratita*]
- [15] 1 Hesichius [Hesychius Alexandrinus. *Lexikon graece*]
- [16] 1 Pausanias [Pausanias. *Decem regionum veteris Graeciae descriptio*]
- [17] 1 Strabonis opera [Strabo. probably *Geographica*]
- [18] 1 Xenophontis opera [Xenophon. *Opera*]

Libri ligati in oro in octavo

- [19] 2 Pomponius mella [Mela, Pomponius. Most likely *De situ orbis*]
- [20] 1 Rethorica trapesuntii [George of Trebizond. *Rhetoricorum libri V*]
- [21] 2 Interpretationes in homerum greci [Didymus, Chalcenterus. *Interpretationes... in Homeri; Illiad necnon Odysea*]
- [22] 1 Opera Cipriani in 2 vols. [Cyprian, St, Bishop of Carthage. *Opera. ed. Des. Erasmus*]

- [23] 1 Aulus gelius [Gellius, Aulus. *Noctium Atticarum* or variant title]
- [24] 1 Apophthegmata plutarchi [Plutarch. *Apophthegmatum*...]
- [25] 1 Aelius spartianus [Lampridius Spartianus, Aelius. Possibly Egnazio, Giovanni Battista. *De caesaribus libri 3. Eiusdem in Spartiani lambrid-ique vitas*]
- [26] 1 Ausonius [Ausonius, Decimus Magnus. Possibly *Deci Ausoni... Opuscula* or *Epigrammata*...]
- [27] 1 Apianus alexandrinus [Apianus, Alexandrinus. Title unspecified]
- [28] 1 Ariannus [Arrianus, Flavius. *De rebus gestis Alexandri magni...* or *De ascensu Alexandri*]
- [29] 1 Asconius pedianus [Asconius Pedianus Quintus. *Expositio in iiii. Orations M. Tullii Ciceronis contra C. Verram*]
- [30] 1 Aristophanes traductus [Aristophanes. Presumably one of his *Comediae*...]
- [31] 1 Apuleius [Apuleius, Lucius. Presumably *Metamorphosis sive de asino aureo*]
- [32] 1 Budeus de studio [Budé, Guillaume. *De studio literarum*...]
- [33] 1 Boethius [Boethius, Presumably *De consolatione philosophiae libri quinque*]
- [34] 1 Cronica brabantie [Possibly Barlandus, Hadrianus. *De rebus gestis ducam brabantie*]
- [35] 1 Cronicom mundi [Possibly Gasser, Achilles Pirminius. *Historiarum et chronicorum mundi*...]
- [36] 1 Cronica galeacii capellem [Capella, Galeazzo Flavio. Possibly *De rebus gestis pro restitutione Francisci II Mediolani ducis*]
- [37] 1 Cronica montis ferrati [Unidentified]
- [38] 1 Comentaria Cesaris [Julius Caesar, Gaius. Presumably *Commentarios de bello gallico* or variant title]
- [39] 1 Claudianus [Claudianus, Claudius. *Opera*]
- [40] 1 Catullus Tibullus Propertius [Catullus, *Catullus. Tibullus. Propertius.*]
- [41] 1 Collumella [Columella, Lucius Junius Moderatus Presumably *De re rustica*]
- [42] 1 Confabulationes Hessii [Hesso, Herman Shottenius. *Confabulationes*...]
- [43] 1 Conciones titti livii [Livius, Titus. *Conciones*]
- [44] 1 Constantinus de re rusticus [Constantine VII, Emperor. *De re rustica*]
- [45] 1 Conclusiones Io. picci [Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni. *Conclusiones nongentae*...]
- [46] 1 Convivium Philelphi [Filelfo, Francesco. *Conviviorum libri duo*...]

- [47] 1 De Institutione principis [Erasmus, Desiderius. *Institutione principis...*]
- [48] 1 Diogenes Laertius [Diogenes Laertius. Possibly *De vitis decretis, et responsis...philosophorum, graecae* or *De vita et moribus philosophorum*]
- [49] 1 Duellum Epistolare [Champier, Symphoriem. ... *Duellum epistolare: Gallie et Italie antiquitates*]
- [50] 1 De recta latini sermonis pronuntiatione [Erasmus, Desiderius. *De recta Latini Graeciaeque sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus...*]
- [51] 1 De Corrupti emmendatione [Cordier, Maturin. *De corrupti sermonis emendatione...*]
- [52] 1 Epistole tullii ad atticus [Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Epistolae ad Atticum*]
- [53] 1 Epistole tullii familiares [Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Epistolae familiares*]
- [54] 1 Epistole plinii [Plinius Secundus Gaius. *Epistolae*]
- [55] 1 Epistole Bembi [Bembo, Pietro, Cardinal *Epistolarum...*]
- [56] 1 Epistole aretini [Aretino, Pietro. *Lettere*]
- [57] 1 Epistole Angeli Politiani [Poliziano, Angelo. *Stanze*]
- [58] 1 Europa et Asia Papem pii [Pius II, Pope. *Asiae Europaeque elegantissima description*]
- [59] 1 Epitome totius orbis [Vadianus, Joachinus. *Epitome topographica totius orbis*]
- [60] 1 Ellucidarius poeticus [Torrentius, Hermannus. *Elucidarius poeticus*]
- [61] 1 Exercitatio linguem latinem [Vives, Juan Luis. *Linguae latinae exercitatio*]
- [62] 1 Epistolem ovidii [Ovidius Naso, Publius. *Heriodum epistolae*]
- [63] 1 Enchiridion moleri [sic] [Probably Morello, Teodorico/ Morel, Thierry. *Enchiridion ad verborum copiam infrugiferum...*]
- [64] 1 Flores ex terentio [Terentius, Publius. *Flores seu formulae loquendi ex Terentii*]
- [65] 1 Philostratus de vita apolanii [Philostratus. *Historiae de vita Apollonii libri viii*]
- [66] 1 Germanorum res geste [Aschaffenburg, Lambert. *Germanorum res praeclare olim gestae...*]
- [67] 1 Gramattica bibliandri [Bibliander, Theodorus. *Institutionum grammaticarum de lingua Hebraea*]
- [68] 1 Gramattica susembrotti [Susenbrotus, Joannes. *Grammaticae artis institutio...*]
- [69] 1 Horatius [Horatius Flaccus, Quintus. Presumably *Poemata omnia* with commentary by Aldo Manuzio]

- [70] 1 Homeri opera in 2 vols. [Homer, *Opera*]
- [71] 1 Historia polibii [Polybius, *Historia libri quinque*]
- [72] 1 Historia regnum aragonensium [Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia Ferdinandi regis Aragoniae*]
- [73] 1 Hadrianus de sermo latino [Castellensis Hadrianus, Cardinal. *De sermo latino*]
- [74] 1 Herodianus [Herodianus, Aelius. Either *Historiae de imperio romano* or *De romanorum imperatorum*]
- [75] 1 Historia persecuntionis Affrice [Vistor: Vitensis. *Historia persecutio-num, quas in Aphrica olim circa d. Augustini tempora*]
- [76] 1 Hutteni poetica [Hutten, Ulrich von. *Opera poetica*]
- [77] 1 Iustinus [Justinus. Presumably *Trogi Pompei... historiae*]
- [78] 1 Iuvenalis cum persio [Juvenalis, Decimus Junius. *Iuvenalis una cum Au. persio*]
- [79] 1 Sadoletus de liberis educandis [Sadoletto, Jacopo. *De liberis recte instituendis*]
- [80] 1 Ioci ac sales ottomari [Nachtigall, Otmar. / Luscinius, Ottomar. *Ioci ac sales...*]
- [81] 1 Introditio ad sapientiam vivis [Vives, Juan Luis. *Introductio ad sapientiam*]
- [82] 1 de concordia et discor. principum [Vives, Juan Luis. *De concordia et discordia in humano genere*]
- [83] 1 vivis de ratione studii [Vives, Juan Luis. *De ratione studii puerilis...*]
- [84] 1 Institutiones quintiliani [Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius. *Institutionum oratoriarum...*]
- [85] 1 Iovius del origine turcarum [Giovio, Paolo. *Turcicarum rerum commentarius*]
- [86] 1 Iacobi fortii Lucubrationes [Ringelberg, Joachim Fortius van. *Lucubrationes... liber de ratione studii, utriusque linguae grammaticae, dialecticae, rhetoricae, mathematicae*]
- [87] 1 Iacobus inumphalius de Suscipienda reip: propugnatione [Omphalius, Jakob. *De suscipienda Christianae reip. propugnatione*]
- [88] 1 Lucretius [Lucretius Caro, Titus. Presumably *De rerum natura*]
- [89] 1 Lucanus [Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus. *De belli civili libri X* or variant title]
- [90] 1 Lactantius firmianus [Lactantius Firminianus, Lucius Coelius. Presumably *Divinarum institutionum libri septem*]
- [91] 1 Laurentius Valla in pogium [Valla, Lorenzo. *Antidoti in pogium*]
- [92] 1 Lucubrationes vallae [Valla, Lorenzo. *Lucubrationes aliquot ad linguae latinae...*]

- [93] 1 Legatio ulixis ad achilem [Aristides, Publius Aelius. *Libello... quid dici amplius ab Ulysse legato ad Achillem*]
- [94] 1 Lazarus baifus del re navali [Baif, Lazare de. *De re navali libellus*]
- [95] 1 Idem de re vestiaria [Baif, Lazare de. *De re vestiaria*]
- [96] 1 Luciani dialogi [Lucianus of Samosata. *Luciani dialoghi quinque*]
- [97] 1 Macrobius [Macrobius, Ambrosius. Most likely *In somnium Scipionis...*]
- [98] 1 Martialis [Martialis, Marcus Valerius. *Epigrammaton libri XIII*]
- [99] 1 Marbodeus de Lapidibus [Marbodes. Bishop of Rennes. *De lapidis preciosis...* or variant title]
- [100] 1 Marcelli palingenii opera [Palingenius, Marcullus. Pseus. Pietro Angelo Manzolli. *Zodiac vitae, hoc est, De omnia vita, studio, ac moribus...*]
- [101] 1 Nuge borboni [Borbonius, Nicolaus. *Nugae*]
- [102] 1 Opera Angeli poliziani [Poliziano, Angelo. *Opera*]
- [103] 1 Opuscula Bembi [Bembo, Pietro. *Opuscula aliquot*]
- [104] 1 Officina textorii in 2 vol. [Textor, Jean Tixier. *Officinia...prima/seconda pars*]
- [105] 1 Osservationes Linguem Latinem [title unidentified]
- [106] 1 Orationes tullii in 3 vols. [Cicero, M.T. *Orationes*]
- [107] 1 opera ovidii in 3 vols. [Ovid. *Opera*]
- [108] 1 poete tres egregii [Gratius: Faliscus. *Hic volumine continentur poetae tre egregii de venatione...*]
- [109] 1 Pomponius letus [Pomponius, Laetus Julius. *Romanae historiae compendium* or *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae*]
- [110] 1 Particiones tullii [Cicero, M.T. *Partitiones oratoriae*]
- [111] 1 platina de vitis pontificum [Sacchi, Bartolomeo. *Hystoria de vitis pontificum*]
- [112] 1 plinius in 4 vols. [Pliny the Elder. *Naturalis historia*]
- [113] 1 Publius velleius [Velleius, Paterculus Marcus. Probably *Historiae Romanae*]
- [114] 1 Pacificus poeta [Presumably Massini, Pacifico. *Pacifici maximi poetae...*]
- [115] 1 Plautus [Plautus, Titus Maccius. *Comoediae*]
- [116] 1 Polibius [Polybius. *Historiarum libri quinque* or *De romanorum militia*]
- [117] 1 paulus orosius [Orosius, Paulus. Probably *Adversos paganos historiarum libri septem*]
- [118] 1 pindarus [Pindar. Possibly *De bello troiano*]
- [119] 1 Poemata georgii sabini [Sabinus, Georg. *Poemata*]

- [120] 1 Psellus [Psellus, Michael. Possibly *De victus ratione ad Constantium Imperatorem...* or *Introductio in sex philosophiae modos...*]
- [121] 1 Quintus Curtius [Curtius, Rufus Quintus. Possibly *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*]
- [122] 1 Quintilianus [Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius. Presumably *De institutionum oratoriarum* or variant title]
- [123] 1 Rethorica tullii [Cicero, M.T. *Rhetorica*]
- [124] 1 Rethorica sarcerii [Sarcerius, Erasmus. *Rhetorica*]
- [125] 1 Rethorica Cesarti [Caesarius, Iohannes. *Rhetorica... in septem libris*]
- [126] 1 Rethorica Hermogenis [Hermogenes. *De arte rhetorica*]
- [127] 1 Rudimenta pelisonis [Pellisson, Jean. *Rudimenta prima Latinae grammatices*]
- [128] 1 Rescripta regum Italiem [Cassiodorus, Flabius Magnus Aurelius. *Antiqua regum Italiae gothicae gentis rescripta ex 12 libris*]
- [129] 1 Suetonius [Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius. Presumably *Vitae XII Caesarum* or variant title]
- [130] 1 Statius [Statius, Publius Papinius. *Sylvarum libri quinque*]
- [131] 1 Strozii poetem [Strozzi, Tito Vespasiano and Ercole. *Strozzi poetae pater et filius*]
- [132] 1 Silius Italicus [Silius Italicus Gaius. *De bello punico*]
- [133] 1 Sannazarius de partu virginis [Sannazaro, Jacopo. *De partu virginis*]
- [134] 1 Silve ebonii essii [Hessus, Helius Eobanus. *Helii Eobani Hessi Sylvarum libri 6*]
- [135] 1 scola apiciano [Apicius, Coelius. *De re culinaria//coquinaria*]
- [136] 1 sententie poetarum [Meier, George. *Sententiae veterorum poetarum...*]
- [137] 1 silva osservationum lingue latini [title unidentified]
- [138] 1 Tertulianus [Tertullianus, Q. Septimus Florens. Possibly *Apologeticus adversus gentes*]
- [139] 1 Teocritus [Theocritus. *Theocrati Syracusani opera latine* or variant title]
- [140] 1 Tragediem senecem [Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. *Tragoediae*]
- [141] 1 Tullius de oratore [Cicero, M.T. *De oratore*]
- [142] 1 Tusculane tullii [Cicero, M.T. *Tusculanae quaestiones*]
- [143] 1 Tullius de amicitia [Cicero, M.T. *De amicitia*]
- [144] 1 Tullius de officiis [Cicero, M.T. *De officiis*]
- [145] 1 Topica tullii [Cicero, M.T. *Topica*]
- [146] 1 Terentius [Terentius Afer, Publius. *Comediae*]

- [147] 1 Terentius varo de agric. [Varro, Marcus Terentius. *De re rustica*]
- [148] 1 Tittus Livius in 2 vols. [Livius, Titus. *Decades*]
- [149] 1 Teofrastrus de plantis et de causis plantarum [Theophrastus of Eresus. *De historia plantarum...de causis plantarum*]
- [150] 1 Vegetius de re militari [Vegetius Renatus, Flavius. *De re militari*]
- [151] 1 valerius Flaccus [Valerius Flaccus, Caius. *Argonauticon*]
- [152] 1 valerius m. [Valerius Maximus. *Facta et dicta memorabilia*]
- [153] 1 valerius probus [Probus, Marcus Valerius. *De scripturis antiquis...opusculum*]
- [154] 1 vergilius [Vergilius Maro, Publius. Virgil. Possibly *Singulae dictiones polysyllabae in puerorum usum*]
- [155] 1 viridarium poetarum [Mirandola, Ottaviano. *Viridarium illustrum poetarum...*]
- [156] 1 verinem tullii [Cicero, M.T. *Ciceronis Verrinae* or variant title]
- [157] 1 xenophontis opera [Xenophon. *Xenophontis...*]

Seguiteno libri vulgari in octavo

- [158] 1 Petrarca [Petrarch, Francesco. Il petrarcha]
- [159] 1 Sannazaro [Sannazaro, Jacopo. Possibly *Arcadia* or *Sonetti*]
- [160] 1 Asulani di Bembo [Bembo, Pietro. *Gli Asolani...*]
- [161] 1 Cento novelle [Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Cento novelle*]
- [162] 1 Cortigiano [Castiglione, Baldassare. *Il libro del Cortegiano*]
- [163] 1 Danthe [Dante Alighieri. Possibly *L'amoroso convivio*]
- [164] 1 Orlando furioso [Ariosto, Lodovico. *Orlando Furioso*]
- [165] 1 Morgante [Pulci, Luigi. *Il Morgante*]
- [166] 1 Mambriano [Cieco da Ferrara Francesco. *Mambriano... nel quale si tratta d'arme e d'amore*]
- [167] 1 Apiano Alexandro in 2 vols. [Appian of Alexandria. *Delle guerre civili. Delle guerre esterne*]
- [168] 1 Cornazano de l'arte militari [Cornazano, Antonio. *De re militari*]
- [169] 1 Duello [Del Pozzo, Paride. *Duello due libro de re, imperatori, principi, signori...*]
- [170] 1 Epistole del aretino [Aretino, Pietro. *Lettere*]
- [171] 1 Galeaz capella [Capella, Galeazzo Flavio. *Della eccellenza et dignita delle donne*]
- [172] 1 Philocolo [Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Il Filocolo*]
- [173] 1 Genesis del Aretino [Aretino, Pietro. *Il Genesi di Pietro Aretino*]
- [174] 1 Humanita del cristo del aretino [Aretino, Pietro. *I Quattro libri de la humanita di Christo*]

- [175] 1 Herodoto [Herodotus. Probably *Delle guerre de Greci et de Persi*]
- [176] 1 Herodiano [Herodian. Possibly *Historia dello Imperio* or *Vita di duodeci imperatori descritti per Suetonio*]
- [177] 1 Iustino [Iustinus, Marcus Iunianus. Possibly *Historie di Trogo Pompeo...*]
- [178] 1 Iosepho [Josephus, Flavius. Presumably *Giosefo, nel quale si tratta delle guerre de giude*]
- [179] 1 Novo testamento [*Il Nuovo Testamento*]
- [180] 1 Paulo orosio, [Orosius, Paulus. Presumably *Le storie contra i pagani*]
- [181] 1 Petrarca spirituale [Petrarch Francesco. *Il Petrarca spirituale*]
- [182] 1 Peregrino [Caviceo, Jacopo. *Libro del peregrino*]
- [183] 1 Q. Curtio [Curtius Rufus, Quintus. *Quinto Curtio historico...*]
- [184] 1 Rethorica di tulio [Cicero, M.T. *Rhetorica...*]
- [185] 1 Seraphino [Ciminelli, Serafino. *Opere*]
- [186] 1 Sophonisba [Trissino, Gian Giorgio. *La Sophonisba*]
- [187] 1 Terentio [Terentius Afer, Publius. Presumably *Comedie di Terentio...*]
- [188] 1 Vite de plutarco in 2 vols. [Plutarch. *La prima [seconda] parte delle vite di Plutarcha*]
- [189] 1 virgilio [Virgilius Maro Publius. Possibly *Virgilio volgare* or *La Eneide di Virgilio*]
- [190] 1 xenophonte [Xenophon. Possibly *Della vita di Cyro re de Persi... opera di Xenophonte*]

Li libri indorati in octavo sono pezzi 187

Questi seguenti libri vano tutti senza oro, sono in quarto et in foglio

- [191] 1 Adagia polidori vergerii [Vergil, Polydore. *Polidori Vergili Urbinatis Adagiorum*]
- [192] 1 Budeus de contemptu mundi [Budé, Guillaume. *De contemptu rerum...*]
- [193] 1 Cornelius tacitus in 4mo [Tacitus. *Opera* with commentary by Andrea Alciato]
- [194] 1 Descriptio Helvetiorum cum figura [Unidentified]
- [195] 1 Opera pontani in 3 vols. [Pontano, Giovanni. *Opera*]
- [196] 1 Polidorus de rerum inventoribus [Vergil, Polydore. *De rerum inventoribus...*]

- [197] 1 Rethorica fortunatiani [Fortunatianus, Chirius. *Rhetoricorum libri tres*]
- [198] 1 Sextus placitus [Placitus, Sextus. *De medicina animalum, bestiarum, pecorum et avium*]
- [199] 1 Columelli in 4mo aldo [Columella, Lucius Junius. *Libri de re rustica*]
- [200] 1 Solinus congiunto in folio [Solinus, C Julius. Presumably *De situ orbis terrarium...*]
- [201] 1 Petrarca congiunto del Iesusaldo in 4mo [Petrarca, Francesco. *Il Petrarca*. Com. G.A.Gesualdo]
- [202] 1 Danthe congiunto in 4mo [Dante Alighieri. Possibly *La commedia*, with commentary by Cristoforo Landino]
- [203] 1 Innamorato di orlando in 4mo [Boiardo, Matteo Maria. *Orlando innamorato*]
- [204] 1 Bibia vulgar in 4mo [*Bibia volgare*]
- [205] 1 Cronica de firenze in folio [Presumably Villani, Giovanni. *Chronicle...delle origine di Firenze*]
- [206] 1 Cronica di genoa in folio [Possibly Giustiani, Agostino. *Annali...della repub. di Genoa*]
- [207] 1 Danthe dil tresino in 4mo [Dante Alighieri. *De vulgari eloquentia*, trans. G.G. Trissino]
- [208] 1 Epistole de nicolo franco in folio [Franco, Niccolo. *Le pistole vulgari*]
- [209] 1 Mario equicola di natura di amore in 4mo [Equicola, Mario. *Libro di natura d' amore*]
- [210] 1 ovidio maggior in 4mo [Ovid. *Le metamorphosi*]
- [211] 1 vitruvio vulgare con figure et in foglio [Vitruvius. *Architettura del vero esemplare latino nella volgare linqua tradotto*]

Libri latini

- [212] 1 opera Augustini in xi vols. [Augustine, St. *Omnium opera*]
- [213] 1 opera Crisostomi in 4 vols. [Chrysostom, John St. *Opera*]
- [214] 1 opera Bernardi [Bernard of Clairvaux, St. *Opera omnia*]
- [215] 1 opera Gregorii in 2 vols. [Gregory I, Pope. *Opera*]
- [216] 1 opera Ambrosii in 2 vols. [Ambrose, St. *Opera*]
- [217] 1 opera Origenis in 2 vols. [Origen. *Opera*, ed. Des. Erasmus]

- [218] 1 Lactantius firmianus [Lactantius, Firmianus. Presumably *Divinorum Institutionum libri septem*]
- [219] 1 opera aristotelis latina in 2 vols. [Aristotle. *Opera latina*]
- [220] 1 opera platonis [Plato. *Omnia opera*]
- [221] 1 opera Jeronimi in 7 vols. [Jerome, St. *Opera*]
- [222] 1 opera tertuliani [Tertullianus. *Opera*]

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIBRARY OF THE BRETON JURIST AND HISTORIAN BERTRAND D'ARGENTRÉ IN 1582

Malcolm Walsby

The library of the jurist and historian Bertrand d'Argentré was one of the largest private collections of Renaissance France. It is documented in a long manuscript volume entitled "Inventaire de la librairie de messire Bertrand d'Argentré, senneschal de Rennes, sieur de Gosnés" preserved in the municipal library of Rennes. The importance of this inventory arises in part from the sheer number of works enumerated: the manuscript lists almost 3,000 different titles.¹ With the advent of print, amassing large libraries was no longer the preserve of the richest members of society. In a clear break from the manuscript era, the most substantial collections of books in Renaissance France were not, on the whole, owned by powerful noblemen seeking to assert their prestige through patronage but instead tended to belong to wealthy jurists, ecclesiastical figures and men of letters. Although Catherine de Medici and the kings of France had amassed considerable collections, this did not encourage the rest of the nobility to form large libraries. Instead, by in the mid-sixteenth century, prominent figures of the French legal world and renowned bibliophiles such as Pierre Lizet, Jean le Ferron and Antoine du Prat put together collections that ranged from a few hundred to just over a thousand books.²

With the notable exception of the extraordinary library of the governor of Forez, Claude d'Urfé, the largest French collections of the second half of the century belonged to jurists.³ But the information we have on these

¹ Inventory of Bertrand d'Argentré's library, 1582, BM Rennes, Ms. 568.

² The lists we have indicate that Lizet had 513 works in 1554, Le Ferron, 670 books in 1548 and Du Prat 1184 volumes. See R. Doucet, *Les bibliothèques parisiennes au XVIe siècle* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1956), pp. 24 and 77.

³ On Urfé's library see C. Longeon, 'Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de la maison d'Urfé' in his *Documents sur la vie intellectuelle en Forez au XVIe siècle* (Saint-Étienne: Centre d'études foréziennes, 1973), pp. 143–157 and A. Vernet, 'Les manuscrits de Claude d'Urfé (1501–1558) au château de La Bastie', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 120 (1976), pp. 81–97. Both only, however, have a small number of items—Longeon lists just 14 printed volumes (pp. 155–6).

libraries is very limited and we are forced to rely on approximate estimations. Thus the library of the magistrate and historian Claude Fauchet was thought to comprise approximately 2,000 books whilst it is estimated that the treasurer-general Jean Grolier had collected as many as 3,000 volumes during his lifetime.⁴ The difficulty with such estimations is establishing whether or not they were based on an informed evaluation of the number of volumes actually present or whether this was simply a way of reinforcing the idea that they owned lots of books. Certainly, it has been suggested that these appraisals may well have exaggerated the importance of the collections.⁵ More precise data has been provided by a study of the books owned by another jurist, the counsellor of the Paris Parlement Claude Dupuy. His library was the subject of a detailed post-mortem inventory by the Parisian printer and bookseller Denis Duval in 1595. Despite the fact that Dupuy died at just the relatively modest age of 49, he had amassed a considerable collection of some 2,000 printed and manuscript volumes.⁶

In this context, it is unsurprising that a celebrated jurist such as Bertrand d'Argentré would have put together an important collection of books. But with almost three thousand volumes, Argentré's library was as large as or larger than those of his contemporaries. Furthermore, this is the largest collection in Renaissance France for which we have a full inventory. Thanks to the document analysed here, we can have a precise indication of the titles that composed the library, even if it is often hard to identify exact editions that Argentré would have owned. What makes the list of Bertrand d'Argentré's books all the more interesting is that, unlike all the other libraries owned by the jurists we have mentioned, this was the only collection entirely kept in provincial France. Lizet, Le Ferron, Du Prat, Grolier and Fauchet all spent the vast majority of their career in Paris where they were surrounded by the world's largest print industry and a substantial and successful network of local booksellers who could easily obtain books from all over Europe. That Argentré was able to collect so many volumes in Rennes can seem more surprising.

⁴ A. Charon, 'Les grandes collections du XVI^e siècle' in C. Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. II: les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789* (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 84–99; at p.88.

⁵ J. Delatour, *Une bibliothèque humaniste au temps des guerres de religion. Les livres de Claude Dupuy* (Villeurbanne: ENSSIB & École des Chartes, 1998), p. 4 and H. Omont, 'Inventaire des manuscrits de Claude Dupuy (1595)' *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 76 (1915), pp. 526–531.

⁶ J. Delatour, *Une bibliothèque humaniste*, p. 4.

In the sixteenth century, Rennes was a large provincial city, but not one of the main cities of the realm. Its printing industry only really developed in the second half of the sixteenth century and, until then, largely depended on the strength of the local bookseller network that commissioned editions and imported and distributed large quantities of books. This has led some historians to underestimate the cultural vitality of the region, but there seems to be little justification for such pessimism.⁷ Studies have already demonstrated the strength of intellectual exchanges in the duchy during the sixteenth century and Bertrand d'Argentré's library fits well into this wider context.⁸ Indeed, this was not the only large collection to have been put together in Brittany during the second half of this century: the archdeacon of Nantes, Pierre Le Gallo, had a library that was posthumously sold for 1,800 *écus* in 1588.⁹ It has been suggested that this represented a library of some 10,000 books, though without a surviving inventory, this figure seems to be little more than the result of guesswork.¹⁰ In contrast, with Bertrand d'Argentré we have a full list of the titles in his collection. Argentré was an important figure in Renaissance Brittany and, before we analyse the library and its contents, we should start by explaining why he would have looked to amass such a considerable collection.

Bertrand d'Argentré

Bertrand d'Argentré was born on 19 May 1519 and had an illustrious career both as a jurist and an historian. He was, in the words of an early seventeenth-century historian, "l'honneur et la gloire non seulement de sa

⁷ See the remarks by Alain Croix in his *L'âge d'or de la Bretagne 1532–1675* (Rennes: Ouest France, 1993), pp. 443–4.

⁸ See notably C. Magnien-Simonin, 'Un humaniste breton: François de la Coudray, de Pontivy (1558–1619)' *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, LXVI (1989), pp. 251–283, her introduction to J. Rougeart, *Oeuvres complètes* (1578) (Geneva: Droz, 1988), on p. xi; and M. Walsby, 'Le livre imprimé humaniste en Anjou et en Bretagne aux XVe et XVIe siècles' in C. Bénévent, A. Charon, I. Diu and M. Vène (eds), *Passeurs de textes: imprimeurs et libraires à l'âge de l'humanisme. Actes du colloque des 30 et 31 mars 2009* (Paris: École nationale des Chartes, 2012), pp. 255–268.

⁹ Municipal deliberations, 17 November 1588, Archives Municipales Nantes GG 692 n° 61. The complex circumstances surrounding the sale of this collection are described in M. Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany, 1484–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 179–181.

¹⁰ A. Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Tome XXII: Nantes, Quimper, Brest* (Paris: Plon, 1893), p. I and L. Chapplain, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque publique de Nantes' *Annales de la société royale académique de Nantes, et du département de la Loire-Inférieure*, 10 (1839), pp. 74–104; at p. 82.

famille, mais encores de ceste province Armorique".¹¹ His family came from Argentré-du-Plessis in the barony of Vitré in eastern Brittany and were well-connected to the most important local noble houses. The Argentré belonged to the nobility of the sword but had embraced the legal profession at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This was a common occurrence in Brittany where it was not rare for members of the traditional nobility to undertake administrative or judicial careers, nor did they lack the skills to succeed, despite the comments of some contemporaries.¹² Bertrand's father, Pierre, had become one of the most important councillors of the count Guy XVI de Laval. His legal education had enabled him to serve the count as seneschal of the *châtellenie* of Châtillon-en-Vendelay in 1515 and later of the county of Quintin.¹³ The count of Laval was an important figure in Rennes: lieutenant general, admiral and governor of Brittany, he was also given the usufruct of the ducal county of Rennes by Francis I.¹⁴ It was undoubtedly through Guy XVI's intercession that Pierre rose to become seneschal of Rennes by 1526—an influential position at the heart of the ducal administration that he was to keep until a year before his death in 1548. His son Bertrand followed a similar trajectory. After finishing his legal studies, he also began by serving the house of Laval in his early career and became a counsellor to Guy XVII de Laval as well as seneschal of Vitré.¹⁵ In 1547, his father resigned his position as seneschal of Rennes in his favour, placing him at the heart of the Breton legal world.¹⁶

¹¹ A. Du Paz, *Histoire genealogique de plusieurs maisons illustres de Bretagne* (Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1619), p. 693.

¹² For comments of some nobles on their inadequate education see D. Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560–1640* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), pp. 46–9. On the Breton nobility's judicial and administrative role: M. Nassiet, *Noblesse et Pauvreté: La petite noblesse en Bretagne, XVe–XVIIIe siècle* (Rennes: Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne, 1993), pp. 149–175.

¹³ On his position in Châtillon see BnF, Fonds Français 22341 fo. 290–296. For Quintin see BnF, Fonds Français 22341 fo. 296 and Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine 1 F 1346. On the house of Laval see M. Walsby, *The Counts of Laval: Culture, Patronage and Religion in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹⁴ Gift of the revenue of Rennes by Francis I to Guy XVI de Laval, 15 September 1528, Archives Départementales de Loire-Atlantique B 1 fo. 344. The count was also viscount of Rennes: Walsby, *Counts of Laval*, p. 16.

¹⁵ L.-A. Bertrand de Broussillon, *La maison de Laval, 1020–1605, étude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Laval et de Vitré* (Paris: 1895–1903), n° 2618.

¹⁶ The decision was ratified by royal letters signed in Compiègne on 14 August 1547: G. Le Gentil Rosmorduc, *La noblesse de Bretagne devant la chambre de la réformation, 1668–1671: arrêts de maintenue de noblesse* (Saint-Brieuc: printed for the author, 1896–1905) III, 7.



Illustration 5.1. Engraved portrait of Bertrand d'Argentré from the posthumous edition of his *Commentarii in patrias Britonum leges, seu consuetudines generales antiquissimi ducatus Britanniae* (Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1614). [BM Bar-le-Duc, 8809]

It was in this high profile role that Bertrand d'Argentré was initially to build his reputation as an excellent jurist. But, understandably, his broader standing in the kingdom mainly derived from the quality of his legal editions and commentaries. His first published work was an enlarged and corrected edition of the customs of Brittany, printed in 1568 by Julien du Clos in Rennes.¹⁷ Argentré followed this first publication with a legal treatise of his own composition dealing with the complex issue of noble inheritance in Brittany. This large quarto edition published in 1570 was based on thirty years of judicial practice and mainly aimed at the Breton legal community.¹⁸ The treatise must have met with some success since a few years later he published a similar text on the appropriation of land.¹⁹ This was an even larger folio edition written in Latin and confirmed Bertrand d'Argentré's position as a jurist of great repute. But, despite these early successes, it was for two subsequent works that Argentré is chiefly remembered.

One of the by-products of Argentré's publications on the Breton judicial system was to highlight the insufficiencies of the existing text of the customs of the duchy. The importance of the customs to the smooth running of everyday legal matters in Brittany was such that it was agreed that a new version of the text had to be produced. A committee, including Bertrand d'Argentré, was set up to revise the customs with representations from all three estates. Though other jurists were present at the meetings of the committee, the revised text that was submitted to the provincial estates for approval is widely accepted as having been heavily influenced by Argentré. The amended customs were read out and accepted by representatives of all three estates in the town of Ploërmel in northern Brittany in October 1580. This represented a lasting legacy for Bertrand d'Argentré: the new customs were immediately printed in both Brittany and Paris and we know of over a dozen editions published between 1581 and the end of the century.²⁰ The impact of this revised text is also demonstrated by the

¹⁷ *Coustumes generales du pais et duche de Bretagne* (Rennes: Julien du Clos for Bertrand Jochault, 1568), FB 7505. See the privilege on Aiv that states that the work was "revenu, corrigé, et augmenté par M. D'Argentré".

¹⁸ See the "Preface aux lecteurs" of his *Advis et consultation sur les partages des nobles de Bretagne* (Rennes: Julien du Clos for Jean Goderon, 1570), FB 1679; especially a2r-v and c3v-c4r.

¹⁹ B. d'Argentré, *Ad titulum britannici juris qui est de dominorum assertionibus. Des appropriations par bannies et prescriptions* (Rennes: Julien du Clos for Pierre Le Bret, 1576), FB 1680.

²⁰ On the rivalries surrounding the publication of these editions see Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany*, pp. 128–132. The editions are listed in FB, numbers 7510 to 7522.

wide variety of formats in which it was produced. These ranged from expensive learned formats (folios and quartos) aimed at lawyers who would use them in their studies during cases, to cheaper and more portable octavo, duodecimo and sedicesimo editions that could be sold to a less wealthy clientele as well as providing the members of the legal trade with a handily sized extra copy they could transport with them for constant reference. In other words, Argentré's revised text was made available to all levels of literate society. This variety is demonstrated by the fact that the very first book to be printed in Brittany in the very small 24° format was an edition of Argentré's customs published in Nantes at the beginning of the seventeenth century.²¹

These achievements as a jurist were sufficient to guarantee Argentré the admiration of his contemporaries. Locally, the poet Nicolas Debaste, who taught at the college of Saint Thomas in Rennes, published a sonnet dedicated to Argentré in which he asserted "Mais vos doctes escrits jamais ne periront, Ains tousjours florissans et durables seront".²² Two leading figures of the French intellectual world, the jurist Charles du Moulin and the celebrated poet Scévole de Sainte-Marthe both also expressed their appreciation of Argentré's legal work.²³ But over the following centuries, it was his wide-ranging history of Brittany that secured him lasting fame. This ambitious book was undertaken at the behest of the provincial estates who promised the author a prodigious fee of 6,000 *livres* to be paid to the author when the text was completed and published.²⁴ But the text Argentré produced proved to be controversial and ran into considerable difficulties with the French authorities before it had even finished its first print run. On the critical issue of portraying the French monarchy, Argentré's descriptions and analysis were considered unflattering and offensive. For instance, he depicted the French king Louis XI as an "homme sans foy, sans alliance, vindicatif et contrefait en toutes ses actions".²⁵

²¹ *Les coutumes du païs et duché de Bretagne* (Nantes: Luc Gobert, 1607). This edition is not listed in the Louis Desgraves's *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVIIe siècle. Tome XI: Bretagne* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1984).

²² N. Debaste, *Les passions d'amour* (Rennes: chez Robert Godecart, 1586), FB 15318; at E6r.

²³ See 'V.C. Bertrandi Argentraei Redonensis provinciae praesidis, elogium' by Scévole de Sainte-Marthe quoted in the posthumous edition of Argentré's *Commentarii in patrias Britonum leges, seu consuetudines generales antiquissimi ducatus Britanniae* (Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1614); at ã2r- ã3r.

²⁴ Obtaining the money proved to be a complicated business. See the synopsis of the decisions taken by the Breton estates on 25 September 1609 and 3 November 1618: BnF, Fonds Français ms. 8300 and Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany*, p. 117.

²⁵ B. d'Argentré, *L'Histoire de Bretagne* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1583), p. 969 H.

His distrust of the French and their historiographical tradition was encapsulated in his introduction.

As a result, the first edition of his history of Brittany was banned and Argentré was instructed to revise the text. The fate of the copies of the first edition that were printed has been the subject of some debate and contradictory statements. For a long time it was thought that there was an early Breton edition printed by Du Clos in Rennes. It was alleged that some uncensored copies of this Rennes edition had survived, though they lacked the original title page, the tables and the indexes.²⁶ However, typographical analysis shows that whilst some uncensored copies did survive, they were in fact printed for the Parisian bookseller Jacques du Puys.²⁷ And it was in the shops of the very same Parisian bookseller that a much revised edition appeared for sale in 1588 after having been submitted to the critical eye of the censors.²⁸ The contretemps provided the provincial Estates with the perfect reason not to pay the original sum promised to Argentré. By the time the new edition appeared, France was on the brink of yet another civil war. During the wars of the Catholic League a now aging Bertrand d'Argentré chose the Leaguer camp in a conflict that heavily disrupted the book trade.²⁹ His death during the wars in 1590 meant that the Estates could further delay payment and it was left to his son, Charles, to pursue the unpaid fee. But the Estates saw then an opportunity to get more for their money and insisted that they would only fulfil their obligations "au tems qu'il aura fait paroistre une nouvelle edition de l'histoire de Bretagne".³⁰ Charles further revised his father's text and, in

²⁶ See for example: D.-L. Miorec de Kerdanet, *Vie de Bertrand d'Argentré, jurisconsulte et historien breton* (Rennes: Duchesne, 1820), p. 19; J.-C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres. 5e édition* (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1860–1865) I, pp. 419–420; J. Betz, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle. 19^e livraison: Morlaix, Nantes, Rennes, Saint-Brieuc, Tréguier, Vannes* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1975), p. 68, n° 36.

²⁷ See Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany*, pp. 132–133 in which the case is analysed at length and J. Kerhervé, 'Écriture et réécriture de l'histoire dans l'*Histoire de Bretagne*' de Bertrand d'Argentré. L'exemple du Livre XII' in N.-Y. Tonnerre, (ed.) *Chroniqueurs et historiens de la Bretagne du Moyen Âge au milieu du XXe siècle* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2001), pp. 77–109.

²⁸ B. d'Argentré, *L'histoire de Bretagne* (Paris, chez Jacques du Puys, 1588); FB 1685 [BnF, Résac. fol Lk2 446].

²⁹ For Brittany see chapter 8 in Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany*, pp. 203–228 and, more widely, D. Pallier, 'La firme plantinienne et le marché français pendant la Ligue: les voyages du libraire Théodore Rinsart en France (1591–1596)' *De Gulden Passer*, LXI–LXIII (1983–1985), pp. 117–135.

³⁰ Compendium of the decisions taken by the estates of Brittany, BnF, Fonds Français 8300, p. 411: entry for 25 September 1609.

1618, finally obtained the money promised to his father.³¹ Argentré's *Histoire de Bretagne* continued to be republished over the subsequent century and is the main source of the author's present day fame.³²

The Inventory

The inventory of the library of Bertrand d'Argentré is a bound folio volume of just under 200 ruled pages, some of them blank. Preserved in the town in which it was initially drawn up, it entered the collection of the municipal library of Rennes by gift in 1826.³³ The inventory is bound in what is probably contemporary yellow chamois leather with some modest blind tool decorations.³⁴ The list of books is preceded by a cartouche on the front page that contains the inscription "Anno 1582 ineunte". This is an important detail since Bertrand d'Argentré only died eight years later: unlike most lists of private collections that have survived, this inventory was drawn up in the owner's lifetime simply as a record of all the books he owned. Unlike the inventories compiled at the request of civil or ecclesiastical authorities, this list was commissioned by Argentré without any monetary or religious motives. It presents the owner's books simply as he wished to have them recorded. This is not a unique state of affairs; other sixteenth-century collectors also created catalogues of their books. The sixteenth-century Lyon clergyman Étienne Charpin even went as far as to have his catalogue published. But few such lists survive.³⁵ Charpin's decision to have his catalogue printed and preceded by an elegy meant that his list would have been open to wide scrutiny.

³¹ Ibidem: entry for 3 November 1618. The work was published as a third edition revised and corrected by Charles d'Argentré by Nicolas Buon in Paris [BnF, Résac fol Lk2 446 C].

³² In the seventeenth century, it was reprinted in Paris by Michel Sonnius in 1604, for David Douceur and Claude de la Tour in 1611, for Nicolas Buon in 1618, in Rennes by Jean Vatar in 1668 and in an abbreviated version in Paris for the widow of Charles Coignard and Claude Cellier in 1695.

³³ One of the preliminary pages bears the nineteenth-century inscription: "Donné à la bibliothèque par M. Béchu de Lohéac, le 15 Xbre 1826".

³⁴ The manuscript was bound in gatherings of four sheets after the inventory was originally drawn up: the first sheets have signatures, but in the "g" of the second gathering was in part cut off, showing that the sheets had been cut after the inventory had been made.

³⁵ Charpin's catalogue was printed in Lyon in 1555 with the incipit *Studiosis tantum Lugdunensis Ecclesiae fratribus qui augustissimam ejus majestatem perennem expetunt, Stephanus Charpin etiam perennem illis optat salutem. Bibliothecam ideo Christianam comparavi, candidissimi commilitones, ut pro viri adjuravem...* but no copies of this imprint survive and we only know of this list's existence through a mention in a seventeenth-century work: L. Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulières, qui ont esté et qui sont à present dans le monde* (Paris: Rolet le Duc, 1644), pp. 666–667.

In contrast, the contents of Argentré's collection would have only been seen by those whom he entrusted with the inventory. This would have enabled Argentré to have a more complete inventory of his books which could have included texts that might otherwise have been deemed unorthodox or seditious. As a result it is likely that the audience for the inventory would have been the group of friends and *literati* to whom he gave access to his library. It is unlikely that he would have had the list made just for his own personal use. Even private libraries in sixteenth-century Europe were rarely all that private. There was certainly concerted pressure from humanists from the very beginning of the sixteenth century to make large private libraries accessible so that they would be used and useful.³⁶ Bertrand d'Argentré was obviously aware of this and, when he appealed to the Rennes *parlement*, he noted that it was important to preserve his library not just for his own use, but for the wider public.³⁷

The inventory provides details of just under 3,000 volumes that belonged to the jurist, written out in clear humanist minuscule.³⁸ The book is the fruit of careful work: the illustration of the first page features two ornate capital 'A's and an elegant cartouche in which the year of the creation of the inventory is inscribed. The title, written in green ink, is set either side of one of the ornate 'A's and an oval cartouche in which the arms of the house of Argentré have been painted.³⁹ Bertrand d'Argentré's monogram has been apposed to the right of the title in the margin. The first page was obviously composed with care and consciously sought to make the inventory look more elegant. This manuscript was in itself a prized object and not just a functional enumeration of the books owned by the jurist. The decoration of the title page also strengthens the idea that this list was not simply made for Argentré's personal use.

The contents of the volume are separated into two distinct parts. The first covers the first 65 folios and presents a series of titles in the

³⁶ See the remarks made by Chris Coppens in his 'Et amicorum: not just for friends' in D. Sacré & J. Papy (eds), *Syntagmatia: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), pp 9–17; at p. 17.

³⁷ The original phrase was "conserver sa bibliothecque tant pour luy que pour le publicq": decision of the Breton *Parlement*, 16 February 1590, Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine, 1 b F 60 no. 24. With thanks to Pierre Meunier for bringing this document to my attention.

³⁸ Dominique Maillet in his *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque publique de Rennes* (Rennes: Jausions, 1823–1828) suggested that there were 2,943 works (see entry 11607 in tome II p. 1339). My own count gives the slightly higher figure of 2,962.

³⁹ The house of Argentré's arms was argent with an azure cross pattée.



Illustration 5.2. First page of the catalogue of Bertrand d'Argentré's books. [BM Rennes, MS 568]

approximate alphabetical order of their authors. Each new letter begins on a new recto. This means that ample room was left at the end of each letter so that the list could be augmented with new acquisitions. Whether or not this was the original intention of the copyist is impossible to ascertain, certainly this is the manner in which the list was updated: the last entries for a number of letters contain extra works written in a different, more hurried and less elegant, hand. The alphabetical order breaks down beyond the first letter of the author's name. Whilst some attempt has been made to group together works by a single author, on a number of occasions the normal alphabetical order is disrupted by the insertion of entries that the compiler had forgotten to include earlier.

The second part of the inventory follows a very different layout. Entitled "Libri juris in bibliotheca mea", this was compiled earlier than the first part and is dated 1 February 1577.⁴⁰ The works of jurisprudence are not set out in alphabetical order; rather a thematic approach has been adopted. First of all, the general *corpus juris* works are listed, followed by the *libri juris canonici*. Thereafter the commentaries of the constituent parts of the *corpus juris civilis* are listed separately. These are followed by books on custom law and their legal commentaries. A further section contains an enumeration of other juridical works, such as compilations of ordinances and further commentaries arranged alphabetical by author. Finally, the inventory ends with a section devoted to the *consilia* and a very short one entitled *De historia juris*. This thematic ordering of the books of jurisprudence certainly made sense from a practical point of view: for ease of reference it was more efficient to regroup all the books published by previous legal commentators around a single theme.

As noted earlier two sections of the inventory which were drawn up at different times suggest that this was a compilation of two pre-existing lists. This conjecture is confirmed when the entries are examined closely. On 5v, the scribe originally added after "Avicene Opera" the words "X voluminib. Frob." before striking them out as this indication of the number of volumes and the printer of the work only applied to the subsequent line on saint Augustine's works. He had apparently simply copied out the end to the wrong line. That the copyist was clearly not working from the

⁴⁰ This part of the inventory was also written out using a different, thinner quill. It was copied after the first part: the scribe had initially planned to write the letter Y on a separate folio, but then decided to include it on the verso of the letter X (on folio 63v). He then pasted some paper over what he had written and reused it in the second section on legal books (see folio 68r).

original books is also obvious from the many mistakes. He was evidently struggling with the original hand that had compiled the lists as his transcription is often incorrect.⁴¹ This problem seems to have been compounded by his inadequate knowledge of Latin as there are virtually no mistakes in the French titles. For instance, on the same page we have “Blibliotheca [sic.]” instead of “Bibliotheca”, “Blibliorum” instead of “Bibliorum”, and “Premata” instead of “Poemata”.⁴² The linguistic limitations of scribe are also evident when dealing with Greek books for which he generally gave a Latin short title followed by the indication “graece”. He sometimes even adopts this structure when dealing with Italian books.

Once the original transcription of the two lists was made, the inventory was then corrected by a second hand. This was not a thorough revision of the entries made by the first hand as many of the original mistakes remained uncorrected. Rather, it seems that this was an ad hoc process with corrections being made to the list as and when they were noticed. The type of additions made by this hand also suggests this *modus operandi*, as on a number of occasions not only were corrections made, but extra information was also included. These additions were made in the same hand that appended new titles at the end of each section as they were acquired. It is noticeable that these later entries do not have the mistakes in the Latin titles which characterised those copied by the scribe. The haphazard nature of the additions and the use of different shades of black ink which seem to indicate that these changes were made over a period of time make it seem likely that, unlike the main list, they were the work of Argentré himself.

The Books

The entries often include both the name of the author and the title—though there are a large number of anonymous works. The books listed in the inventory are described with very few details. The imprecise nature of the entries in the inventory allows for a great deal of speculation as to

⁴¹ It has been noted that lists were often compiled by dictation (see Benito Rial Costas, ‘Sixteenth-Century Private Book Inventories and Some Problems Related to their Analysis’ *Library and Information History*, 26 (2010) 70–82 at p. 73), but here the errors are not consistent with sounds been transcribed inaccurately. For instance, “Xenophón” on folio 69r was originally rendered “Xenophus” whilst on folio 58v the scribe wrote “terra” which was later corrected to “trois”.

⁴² Both of these errors are on folio 8r.

what the original title page actually stated. It also encourages scholars to read into the list what they wish to find. This has occurred with the most celebrated work of the unorthodox medical physician Roch Le Baillif de la Rivière. Le Baillif had settled in Brittany and published in Rennes a very popular treatise entitled *Le Demosterion auquel sont contenuz trois cens aphorismes latins et françois. sommaire veritable de la medecine paracelsique* in 1578, but the work is not listed in the inventory.⁴³ The only work that can be attributed to Le Baillif with any degree of certainty is the entry “Anatomie de la Ripviere” which referred to one of his more recent publications.⁴⁴ The absence of Le Baillif’s *Demosterion* may seem surprising as the author had dedicated a part of one of his previous books to Argentré. This has led one scholar to write that the work was in fact listed under the cryptic entry “Opuscula Paracelsi”.⁴⁵ This identification is weak: the title is given in Latin and not in French and there are close to 50 known editions of Paracelsus’s works in Latin before 1582.⁴⁶ Furthermore, as there are three other entries for Paracelsus, it seems arbitrary at best to choose this fourth entry as representing the work of Le Baillif.⁴⁷

The lack of precision in the descriptions is even more obvious in the judicial section of the inventory. Here, the compiler has often omitted the precise title of the work, opting instead to group similar texts under a single generic heading. Thus a section such as “Super codice” simply contains the list of the names of the authors of the commentaries.⁴⁸ Even in the more general section, apart from the author and the title, bibliographic information is only provided sporadically. In total, around ten per cent of entries have an indication of the book’s format and there are numerous indications of language. In contrast, only on eight occasions in the entire

⁴³ R. Le Baillif de La Rivière, *Le demosterion* (Rennes: Pierre Le Bret, 1578); FB 33264–5.

⁴⁴ This is probably Roch Le Baillif de La Rivière’s *Premier traite de l’homme et son essentielle anatomie* (Paris, pour Abel L’Angelier, 1580); FB 33269. The entry is on folio 3v.

⁴⁵ See the remarks made by H. Baudry in his ‘Noël du Fail préfacier du *Demosterion* de Roch Le Baillif (1578)’ in C. Magnien-Simonin (ed.) *Noël du Fail écrivain. Actes et articles du premier colloque international Noël du Fail. Rennes, 3 et 4 juin 1987* (Paris: J. Vrin 1991), pp. 185–200; at p. 186.

⁴⁶ This statistic is taken from the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, www.ustc.ac.uk, accessed 1 June 2012.

⁴⁷ See the “Fasciculus Paracelsi” on f. 20r, “Congeries Paracelsi” on f. 14r and “Paracelsi tomi duo eiusdem thesaurus philosophorum” on f. 34r. The first two probably refer to: *Fasciculus paracelsicae medicinae veteris et non novae* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Spiess and Sigmund Feyerabend, 1581); VD16 ZV 12166 and *Congeries paracelsicae chemiae de transmutationibus metallorum* (Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel, 1581); VD16 P 435.

⁴⁸ The 18 lines on folio 68r just read: ‘Bartoli // Baldi // Salyceti // Alberici // Jasonis // Castrensis // Alexandri Romani // Cyni // Fabri // Fulgosii // Aretini // Curtii // Guidonis Papae // Angeli // Alciati; In 10 // Zazii // Ferreti”.

list does the compiler note the imprint date. Details on where the books were published are also very scarce: Paris is named twice whilst Lyon and Venice are each indicated once.

Publishers fare better, but it is interesting to note that the publishers named in the inventory form part of an elite circle. The Gryphes in Lyon, the Estiennes in Paris and Geneva, Froben in Basel, the Aldine press in Venice, Christophe Plantin in Antwerp and Josse Badius in Paris: the list of the publishers named in the inventory reads like the roll call of the most accomplished humanist printers of sixteenth-century Europe. Clearly when so many other printers are omitted, these names were cited for a purpose. They did not just inform the reader of this list which editions Argentré owned: they were meaningful in their own right and acted as guarantors of the quality of the edition. The presence of these names enhanced the standing of the library and through it the prestige of its owner.⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that when the book was not produced by a celebrated publisher, not only did the inventory not name the workshop, but when it sought to differentiate between two varying editions of the same text, it routinely adopted other distinguishing signs instead of using the printers' names. For instance, Argentré owned two editions of Catellianus Cotta's legal commentaries that were listed simply in the inventory as "In 4 et 8".⁵⁰ He must have considered the difference in size more significant than the name of the printer or the bookseller if the name did not bring with it positive connotations.

The list does provide some indications on the language of the books in Argentré's collection. As was noted earlier, Greek and Hebrew titles are invariably given in Latin as is the case for the Spanish and Italian volumes. The Latin volumes that might bear a similar title in French are differentiated by appending "Latine" to the entry. As a result we are able to estimate the proportion of titles for each language. Of the classical languages, Greek was well represented. Argentré owned over 160 volumes that were either entirely in Greek or in both Greek and Latin. In contrast, there are few Hebrew books: only 5 titles of which three were grammars and two were bibles. Italian was the most represented vernacular language with just over 30 titles; Argentré owned only a handful of Spanish books. Interestingly, though Argentré clearly sourced some of the books he

⁴⁹ A similar tendency is discernable in the probate inventory of Claude Dupuy's books, but in this case because the printer-bookseller Denis Duval clearly believed that these publishers added value to the books: J. Delatour, *Une bibliothèque humaniste*, p. 52.

⁵⁰ Op. cit. f. 78r.

collected in the Holy Roman Empire, none of the texts in his collection were in German. Less surprisingly, there are no English texts either. Overall, the collection was heavily dominated by Latin volumes (over eighty per cent) and less than ten per cent of the books listed in the inventory were in French. This ratio is perhaps in part explained by the large number and variety of volumes listed in the inventory. A substantial proportion of the works were, as far as we can tell, simply not available as French translations. With such a wide range of languages represented in this library, it is worth noting that their presence did not mean that Argentré could either speak or read these languages. Whilst it is clear from his writing that he was very at ease in Latin, he never used Italian, Spanish or Hebrew.⁵¹ As has been noted in other cases, foreign language books were often owned by people who could not read them.⁵²

The preponderance of Latin books can probably in part also be explained by the wide variety of books that Argentré collected. His library contained volumes on many different subjects though, unsurprisingly, the collection was dominated by legal books (approximately a third of all titles). In particular, he owned a large number of religious volumes. Many of these were exactly what one could expect from pious and well-educated man in the sixteenth century. For instance, he owned a dozen Bibles including a copy of Plantin's extraordinary eight volume polyglot Bible, though this was a late addition to the library.⁵³ He also owned run of the mill volumes such as breviaries and works of more serious theology such as the acts of the council of Trent, the texts of the church fathers and the books of contemporary theologians. Despite being a fervent Catholic who would approve of the Catholic League in the final years of his life, his collection also contained books written by Protestants.⁵⁴ The inventory

⁵¹ When writing in French, he remarked that it was the "langage du peuple" and that Latin was more international and for him "autant ou plus agreable". See his *Advis et consultation sur les partages des nobles* at czv.

⁵² See the lists analysed by Pierre Aquilon in his article 'Quatre avocats angevins dans leurs librairies (1586–1592)' in P. Aquilon & H.-J. Martin, *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du XVIIIe colloque international d'études humanistes de Tours* (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 502–54 and my remarks in Walsby, 'Le livre imprimé humaniste', at pp. 267–268.

⁵³ "Biblia Plantini Lat. et Hebraica, Graeca VIII vol." on folio gr. This was written in the later hand and refers to Benito Arias Montano's edition of the Bible: *Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldeice, Graece et Latine* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1569–73); NB 3789.

⁵⁴ Jean du Mats de Montmartin wrote that he had been poisoned by "cette venimeuse passion ligueuse": 'Mémoires ou relation des troubles arrivés en Bretagne depuis l'an 1589 jusqu'en 1598' published by Charles-Louis Tallandier as a supplement to his *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* (Paris: veuve Delaguet, 1756) II, cclxxvii–cccxvi at p. cclxxviii.

contains a selection of Sleidanus's works, and notably his *Historia de rebus religionis*, as well as Théodore de Bèze's *Poemata* and *Galorum Chronicon*. He also owned Wigandus's *De anti Christo romano*, Guillaume du Bartas's *La semaine ou création du monde* and a host of books by Melanchthon.

Perhaps Argentré's inventory hints at a wider phenomenon of Catholic ownership of Protestant books in France. This may initially seem surprising, but there is some evidence to suggest that many French Catholics owned editions that were on the index of forbidden books. For instance, a figure as active in the struggle against Protestantism as the constable Anne de Montmorency nevertheless owned a manuscript with works by Guillaume Farel and Martin Luther.⁵⁵ More generally, it seems that the French readers adopted a more relaxed attitude towards religious censorship than the Italians or the Spaniards.⁵⁶ Here, it is the nature of the book list that allows us to discover that he owned these items: in the most common types of lists, inventories after death, there was a vested interest in not declaring the presence of such editions. Indeed, because they were prohibited their presence could attract the condemnation of ecclesiastical authorities and, in any case, they were worthless on the open market as they could not be sold on.

The heterodoxy of some of the material listed in the inventory should not take away from the fact that many of the books enumerated were classics available in most learned collections. Amongst classic authors there were numerous editions of and commentaries on the works of Cicero, Aristotle and Plato as well as the inevitable books by Plutarch, Ovid and Thucydides. As would be expected for Argentré, there were also many works by historians and over ten per cent of his collection was formed by chronicles and histories in a variety of languages. But he also collected further afield; works by modern humanists such as Petrus Ramus had pride of place in the library. He also owned many medical works (Galen, Hippocrates, Vesalius and others), numerous works on fauna and flora (Gesner, Belon, Jean de Franchières), on mathematics (Diophantus, Euclides, Gemma Frisius), on architecture (Vitruvius, Serlio, Androuet du Cerceau, Philibert de Lorme) as well as some editions on warfare, cosmographies, travel books and highly illustrated editions. The vast majority of titles would have been at home in any erudite library.

⁵⁵ F. Higman, 'Farel et Luther dans la bibliothèque d'Anne de Montmorency?' *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 53 (1991), pp. 415–418.

⁵⁶ See the evidence provided by Owen Gingerich on censorship and surviving copies of Copernicus's work: *The Book Nobody Read: Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus* (London: Penguin, 2005).

The lack of geographic focus is a notable feature in both the general collection and the judicial titles. There are only a few titles that appertain directly to Brittany and an even smaller number that can be identified as having been printed in the duchy. In the second section of the inventory, the number of works of Roman law is striking. If Paris was the undisputed French centre for the production of vernacular law books dealing with custom law and recent legal changes, Lyon cornered the market in Latin commentaries on Roman and canon law. From the first years of the sixteenth century onwards, the commentaries by fourteenth-century Italians such as Baldus de Ubaldis, Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Paulus de Castro on the *Corpus Juris Civilis* became a central plank of Lyon publishing strategy. One of the reasons that Lyon was able to specialise in this production was that the northern half of the kingdom was governed by custom law not Roman law. And yet, Argentré's collection featured a far greater number of editions on Roman law than on custom law. Apart from owning a compendium volume on French customs, he only owned copies of the customs of Brittany and Normandy. For the rest of the kingdom he relied on a small number of paraphrases. This demonstrated Argentré's attachment to the theoretical underpinning of the law, and his recognition of the influence of Justinian even north of the Loire.⁵⁷ His interest in Roman law is also obvious in his writings and he would have used his library as the basis for identifying the specificity of Breton custom law.⁵⁸ This comparative approach was particularly important after 1554 when it was decided that half of the holders of offices within Breton judicial institutions were to be what Argentré called "foreigners" or, in other words, people who were not from Brittany.⁵⁹

Collecting Books

As we have noted, with the exception of a few titles, the books that were part of Bertrand d'Argentré's library were printed in other cities.

⁵⁷ The role of Roman law was widely debated in French legal faculties in custom law areas in the sixteenth century: M.L. Monheit, 'Guillaume Budé, Andrea Alciato, Pierre de l'Estoile: Renaissance Interpreters of Roman Law' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 58 (1997), pp. 21–40.

⁵⁸ See for instance the very first question on noble inheritance in Argentré's *Advis et consultation sur les partages des nobles* was: "Quelle est la disposition du droict escript sur le partage d'entre freres et soeurs. Et s'il y a quelque conformité ou bien repugnance avec la coustume de Bretagne" (M4r).

⁵⁹ "la moytié d'estrangers (qu'on appelle plus aggreablement non originaires des pays)": *ibidem* at b3v.

Furthermore, my attempts to identify the editions corresponding to the titles in the list show that many would have been published outside of France—and not just the volumes that were explicitly identified as having been printed in Venice, Antwerp or Basel. This leads us to question how he obtained his books. During Argentré's lifetime, there were many active booksellers in Rennes, some of whom were closely connected with the Paris book trade.⁶⁰ This network would have provided Argentré with an easy way to obtain most of the titles that he owned. Interestingly, the inventory itself provides us with a clue as to how Argentré came by some of the volumes.

Mixed in with the other books is a reference to one of the catalogues of the titles printed by the workshop of Johann Oporinus.⁶¹ Born in 1507, Johann Oporinus began publishing in 1536 and over the following three decades produced some 800 titles. At his death in 1568, he had been so successful that his successors decided to keep the workshop's name and continued to print under it into the seventeenth century.⁶² There were at least three catalogues published in 1552, 1567 and 1571 which would have enabled Argentré to pick from the vast selection of titles produced by Oporinus and write directly to the Basel workshop.⁶³ Argentré's knowledge of what books to collect would certainly have also been enhanced by the works he found referenced in the books he had already bought. Though the inventory was drawn up too early to include either the work of La Croix du Maine or Antoine du Verdier (both published in 1586), it is interesting to note that he did own a copy of Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca*.

Argentré's own work gives us few clues on his attitude towards books or how he collected them. In the dedication to his history of Brittany, Argentré showed the practical use of the non-judicial parts of his library. He wrote of the "tesmoinages qui en sont par les livres", but approached them critically seeking "l'ancienne verité".⁶⁴ This return *ad fontes* had its

⁶⁰ See the business connections of the Rennes printers and booksellers listed in appendix A in Walsby, *Printed Book in Brittany*, pp. 247–261.

⁶¹ "Opporini librorum index" on folio 41r.

⁶² On Opporinus see M. Steinmann, *Johannes Oporinus: ein Basler Buchdrucker um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basel & Stuttgart: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1966).

⁶³ The 1552 and 1567 editions shared the same title: *Librorum per Joannem Oporinum partim excusorum hactenus, partim in eiusdem officina venalium, index: singulis ad ordinem alphabeticum redactis, et adjecta impressionis forma* (respectively VD16 ZV 19006 and VD16 ZV 19007) and after Oporinus's death as *Exuviae Joannis Oporini typographi Basiliensis: hoc est, bibliotheca librorum impressorum, in gratiam eorum qui comparare uolent, digesta et edita* (Basel: heirs of Johann Oporinus, 1571); VD16 E 4741.

⁶⁴ B. d'Argentré, *L'Histoire de Bretagne* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1588); on ãr.

practical limitations. Many of the anecdotes and tales that Argentré recounted in his opus were actually drawn from the writings of an earlier historian, Pierre Le Baud. Argentré depended heavily on Le Baud and often inherited his errors.⁶⁵ Le Baud's work undertaken at the very beginning of the sixteenth century had not been printed—indeed, it was only thanks to the efforts of the genealogist and historian Pierre d'Hozier that his history was finally published in 1638.⁶⁶ Bertrand d'Argentré was genealogically closely connected to Pierre Le Baud. Pierre's sister, Perrine, had married Bertrand's grandfather, Jean d'Argentré, in 1486.

We know that he had sought and obtained Le Baud's notes to write his own history of the duchy, but hitherto there was no proof that he had owned a manuscript copy of his book. The inventory of Argentré's library does not mention Le Baud by name. However, it does list a seemingly anonymous "*Histoire de Bretagne, du breviayre des Bretons*". This book is not indicated as being a manuscript, but the title does not match any book known to have been printed before 1581. The mention of a "breviary of the Bretons" refers to a long epic poem of over a hundred verses that recounted the high points of Breton history over the previous centuries. There are numerous early surviving copies of the manuscript and it is now well accepted that the poem was written by Pierre Le Baud for Anne of Brittany.⁶⁷ We also know that a least one copy was circulating in Rennes in the mid-sixteenth century as one of the copies now kept in the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris has the name of the Breton bookseller Georges Cléray inscribed at the back of the volume.⁶⁸ The title given in the Argentré library inventory suggested that Le Baud's history of the duchy and his breviary were part of the same manuscript volume—a tradition maintained in the first printed edition of the text in the seventeenth century.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ In the cruel words of the eighteenth-century historian Guy-Alexis Lobineau, when Argentré disagreed with Le Baud it was only "pour s'égarer d'avantage": *Histoire de Bretagne* (Paris: Veuve François Muguet, 1707), I, à.1r.

⁶⁶ P. Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne, avec les chroniques des maisons de Vitré et de Laval* (Paris: Gervais Alliot, 1638).

⁶⁷ There are, for instance, three fifteenth-century copies in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Fonds Français 6012, 8266 and 25211). On the authorship of this work see C. Couderc, 'Le Bréviaire des Bretons de P. Lebaud faussement attribué au copiste Mauhugeon' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXI (1900), pp. 71–74.

⁶⁸ See BnF, Fonds Français 25212, fol. 80 verso: "Je suys et apartient au sire Georges Cléray". Georges Cléray was active in Vannes and then Rennes between 1539 and 1555, see Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany*, p. 250. This is probably an early sixteenth-century copy.

⁶⁹ The title page of Hozier's edition simply referred to "ensemble quelques autres traictez servans à la mesme histoire", but as indicated on H3r one of these other works was

This also confirms that the list does not just contain printed editions. The inventory mentions a chronicle of Laval and a history of Brittany which, it notes, were written by hand.⁷⁰ These are, however, the only times that a book is explicitly described as being a manuscript. It is probable that, as is suggested by the case of Le Baud's works, some of the other titles were in fact manuscripts and not printed editions. However, despite this caveat, the vast majority of the titles can be identified as texts that were published prior to the compilation of this list. The difficulty in ascertaining whether a book was printed or manuscript does make identification more complex, but this is a problem that this inventory shares with many other sixteenth-century book lists.

The Library

The inventory can also help us speculate about Bertrand d'Argentré's library. The fact that it was the compilation of two separate lists that were drawn up at different moments is perhaps a clue as to the nature of the library that housed these books. It would seem to suggest that Argentré's books were kept in two separate places or at least in different locations if they were housed in the same building. As a jurist, it would certainly have been logical for Argentré to keep his legal books in his town house where he was most likely to need them. By the time the inventories were drawn up, Argentré had sold his father's town house in Vitré and had settled instead permanently in Rennes.⁷¹ In contrast to the legal books, the other volumes cited in the inventory did not need to be on hand in Rennes but it seems unlikely that the bulk of his library was kept in his ancestral home, the château of Argentré du Plessis. Bertrand d'Argentré had invested in the development of the château in the second half of the sixteenth century and it could have easily housed the collection, but it was some distance from Rennes. Certainly, when Argentré referred to his

the "Breviaire des Bretons: mis et recueilly en vers par noble et discret messire Pierre le Bault" (pp. [89]–135).

⁷⁰ This was perhaps the chronicle written by the notary Guillaume Le Doyen between 1480 and 1535 which was edited in the mid-nineteenth century: *Annalles et Chronicques du pais de Laval et parties circonvoisines* (ed. L.-J. Morin de La Beauluère, Laval: 1859).

⁷¹ The house in Vitré was sold on 26 December 1549: J.-F. Noël, 'Seigneurie et propriété urbaine sous l'Ancien Régime. Autour de la maison de Bertrand d'Argentré à Vitré' *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 38 (1991), pp. 177–204; at p. 180.

"bibliothecque" in 1590, he made it clear that he was referring to books kept in Rennes.⁷²

Unfortunately, there are few contemporary references to the library of Bertrand d'Argentré. It is neither mentioned in his own works nor in those of other Breton authors of his time. The early seventeenth-century historian and genealogist Augustin du Paz did give some details about the fate of the library. In his genealogy of some of the most illustrious Breton houses, there is an entry for Argentré in which he refers to the importance of the library and to the damage caused during the wars of the Catholic League:

L'an 1589 les troubles commançans en France et en Bretagne, on luy fit accroire qu'il estoit de la ligue. Ce furent ses envieux et ceux qui avoient desir de mettre les mains sur ses biens meubles, et principalement sur sa belle Biblioteque, de laquelle les plus beaux, rares, riches, et exquis volumes furent enlevez et emportez.⁷³

This would seem to suggest that both parts of his library were (at least by then) kept in Rennes. The destruction and loss of books because of the religious wars was not in itself a rare occurrence. A few years earlier, the Protestant pastor of La Roche Bernard, a town 60 miles to the south of Rennes, had lost his library after a Catholic raid on his house.⁷⁴

The losses and the attempts of other bibliophiles to steal some of the volumes are confirmed by a ruling of the Rennes *parlement* in February 1590.⁷⁵ It stated that Bertrand d'Argentré appealed to them to have his library protected from pillaging. He requested that the king's seal be apposed on his study's "huix et fermetures", a request to which the *parlement* agreed. It was decided that one of the councillors would draw up an inventory of the collection, though unfortunately this list, if it was ever created, has since been lost. It is unclear if this attempt to protect the collection was successful. From Du Paz's later remarks it would seem that a considerable quantity of volumes had already been removed. Neither Du

⁷² "l'estude et bibliothecque dudict d'Argentré estant en son logeix situé en ceste ville de Rennes" see the decision of the Breton *Parlement*, 16 February 1590, Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine, 1 b F 60 no. 24.

⁷³ Du Paz, *Histoire genealogique*, p. 700.

⁷⁴ P. Le Noir, *Histoire ecclésiastique de Bretagne depuis la Réformation jusqu'à l'édit de Nantes* (ed. B. Vaurigaud, Nantes: L. & A. Guéraud, 1851), p. 266.

⁷⁵ Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine, 1 b F 60 no. 24. The date of this document (16 February) poses a slight problem as it does not indicate that Argentré was dead, though it is commonly believed that he had died on 13 February 1590 and was buried on 17 February. See Kerdanet, *Vie de Bertrand d'Argentré*, pp. 26–7.

Paz nor the minute of the Breton *parlement's* decision tell us what proportion of the books had been stolen.

The *parlement's* records also name of one of those suspected of stealing from the library as the marquis of Asserac. Jean II de Rieux, marquis of Asserac, was a Breton nobleman from a family that was well-known for their interest in books.⁷⁶ The marquis had joined the royalist faction, and in 1590 was playing an important military role in and around Rennes during the Wars of the League and would therefore have been well-placed to have books taken from Argentré's collection. As a result, the decision was at pains to stress that access was denied to all, whatever their status. Any volumes that had been taken by Asserac could have added to the family library which was described as an "exquise bibliothèque" in the seventeenth century.⁷⁷ The later dispersion of the Asserac library has meant that it has so far been impossible to draw any conclusions about the number of books that might have made it into this collection.⁷⁸

It is difficult to ascertain what happened to the volumes of Argentré's collection and where they may be today. It has been suggested that the books should be identified as those with the inscription "Cucé" in the municipal library in Rennes.⁷⁹ However, this proposition is problematic. The lion's share of the books listed in Argentré's inventory is not to be found in the catalogue of the municipal library. Furthermore, there are numerous instances of books with the suggested provenance mark that cannot be found in the inventory. Overall, it does not seem to be a satisfactory solution for the vast majority of the books listed, even if it is probable that some of Argentré's books are today in Rennes.

The investigation into the whereabouts of Argentré's books is hindered by a lack of evidence.⁸⁰ The current state of scholarship indicates that he

⁷⁶ See, for instance, the dedication by Pierre Boaistuau to René de Rieux-Asserac which refers to "les dons excellents de l'esprit et de nature, une singuliere connoissance de plusieurs arts et disciplines, une ardente amitié que portez à ceux qui en font profession" and the poem written in reply by René: *Histoires prodigieuses* (Paris: Charles Macé, 1575) FB 5932 at â3r-4r.

⁷⁷ Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, p. 642.

⁷⁸ From the research carried out by Jean-Luc Deuffic (who kindly sent me a copy of his file) into extant volumes from the Asserac library, I have only been able to identify six volumes that could plausibly have been previously owned by Bertrand d'Argentré.

⁷⁹ Maillet, *Catalogue de Rennes*, II, p. 1339.

⁸⁰ On the difficulty of tracing dispersed collections see the similar problems faced for Héliou Jouffroy's 659 books of which only four probable copies have been located: M. Desachy, *Deux bibliophiles humanistes. Bibliothèques et manuscrits de Jean Jouffroy et d'Héliou Jouffroy* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2012), p. 58.

does not seem to have made any systematic marks in his books, nor did he embark on a large scale programme of binding in the manner of Jean Grolier. The only binding we know of that is connected to the Argentré family was in fact done for his son, Guillaume d'Argentré. The volume in question, a sixteenth-century octavo edition of saint Augustine's *The city of God*, does not appear in the inventory that only lists Froben's edition of Augustine's complete works printed in Basel.⁸¹ The binding of Guillaume's volume is of typical sixteenth-century French style with blank and gold tooled decoration and the gold stamped inscriptions "GVILLELMVS" on the front board and "DARGENTRE" on the back board. There is nothing here to indicate that the volume was at any time owned by his father. Guillaume, who was born in 1554, had probably bought this volume himself independently, most likely second hand.⁸² The current location of Bertrand d'Argentré's volumes, therefore, remains to be determined.

⁸¹ The entry reads "Augustini, Opera X Voluminib. Frob." on folio 6r. This could be one of four editions printed in Basel by successive generations of the Froben dynasty. They printed ten volume editions of Augustine's works in 1528 (VD16 A4148), 1540 (VD16 A 4149), 1556 (VD16 ZV 22414) and 1569 (VD16 A 4153).

⁸² Saint Augustine, *De civitate dei libri XXII* (Lyon: Sébastien Honorat, 1570) [Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Chomarat A 7333]. As the book was published in 1570, it would probably have had a previous owner.

CHAPTER SIX

THE *HEINSIANA*—ALMOST A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY UNIVERSAL SHORT TITLE CATALOGUE

John A. Sibbald

The sale at Leiden on 15 March 1683 of the library of Nicolaus Heinsius, diplomat, scholar, polymath and neo-Latin poet, marked a number of milestones in the development of bibliography and book selling. It ushered in the dawn of a new age of book collecting where books began to be increasingly appreciated for their antiquarian, curiosity and rarity values as distinct from or in addition to the value of their content. Although the library contained a considerable number of manuscripts, this paper focuses on the printed books.

Nicolaus Heinsius was born at Leiden on 29 July 1620 and died at The Hague on 7 October 1681. In a very real sense his life can be said to have spanned the greater part of the seventeenth century, “the golden age of Holland in art and literature and learning”.¹ The son of an equally distinguished scholar Daniel (1580–1655), himself the favourite pupil of the renowned French humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) to the extent that he was nicknamed ‘parvus Scaliger,’ Nicolaus was born into that flowering of hereditary classical scholarship that so marked this period of Dutch intellectual history.² Nicolaus tackled the humanist agenda of editing classical texts, collating manuscripts, writing Latin poetry and taking a scholarly interest in theology, philosophy, medicine, and the natural sciences. As his father had done before him, he assembled a formidable library around these interests to support his own scholarly work. A correspondent of nearly all the great seventeenth century humanists, his main scholarly contribution was in the field of textual emendation and the collation of manuscripts, especially of the extant manuscripts of Ovid.³

¹ Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of classical scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 124.

² Pfeiffer, *Classical scholarship*, p. 128. His uncle was Janus Rutgers 1589–1625, another of Scaliger’s favourite pupils, and like his nephew, both a scholar and diplomat.

³ “He lives on, and not merely as a model critic: work on the identification of the many manuscripts which he collated, particularly of Ovid, is still in progress, and those editors



Illustration 6.1. Nicolaus Heinsius by Reinier Vinkeles after Jacobus Buys. [National Library of Scotland]

Fluent in French and Italian, he travelled extensively during his lifetime, spending time in England, France, Italy and Sweden.⁴ He even ventured as far as Moscow.⁵ Indeed, after 1651, the remainder of his life was spent between, Stockholm, Uppsala and Holland. Much of his travelling was

who follow in his footsteps admit with awe that what Heinsius thought still matters". L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and scholars: a guide to the transmission of Greek and Latin literature* (2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 165.

⁴ F.F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his circle: his life until his farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden 1618–1650* (Gronigen: E. Forsten, c2000), p. 286.

⁵ Sir John Edwin Sandys, *From the revival of learning to the end of the eighteenth century in Italy, France, England, and the Netherlands*. Vol 2 of *A history of classical scholarship* (Cambridge: University Press, 1908–21), p. 326.

undertaken on behalf of the intellectually precocious Queen Christina of Sweden, a precursor of the intellectual rulers of the Enlightenment, who made Stockholm a *rendez vous* for some of the most gifted minds in Europe of the period. Heinsius, along with his friend and fellow countryman Isaac Vossius (1618–19), made extensive journeys throughout Europe in search of acquisitions for the Queen's library.⁶ While resident in Stockholm, they were employed in the long and difficult task of trying to reduce the chaotic state of the Royal Library into some kind of order. In 1654 he was appointed Dutch minister at the Swedish court.

While little is known about the development of Nicolaus's library, just as his travels afforded him the opportunities to undertake extensive collations of manuscripts in foreign libraries, so too must they have afforded him every opportunity to acquire books and manuscripts for his own ever growing library.⁷ His father's library, with its wonderful collection of association copies of works from other great scholars of the age and its legacy of books from the library of Joseph Justus Scaliger, was not left to him, but sold in 1655.⁸ Unable to attend the sale himself, he had to bid either by agent or on commission for the items which he wanted.⁹ In June 1650 we find him trying to discover the outcome of commission bids which he and Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–71) had left at the sale of the library of

⁶ *Christina Queen of Sweden. A personality of European civilisation* (Exhibition, Nationalmusei Utställingskatalog 305) (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), p. 34. Some scale of the library can be drawn from Exhibit 1 072, (p. 440), the manuscript catalogue of her library undertaken by Vossius. This lists only the books on theological subjects under the letters A-F. It amounts to a total of 5,276 volumes and 953 manuscripts acquired up to 1649. F.H. Gribble, *The court of Christina of Sweden, and the later adventures of the Queen in exile* (London: E. Nash, 1913), records that "The Italians began to complain that ships were laden with the spoils of their libraries, and that their best aids to learning were carried away from them to the remotest North" (p. 92).

⁷ Michael Hoeflich, 'Two Heinsius related items in the University Library, Cambridge,' *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, VI (1972–76), p. 262.

⁸ *Catalogus variorum & exquisitissimorum librorum* (Leiden: Peter Leffen, 1655). Available in microfiche in the collection *Book sales catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1880* (Leiden: IDC, 1992–), Cat. 4 microfiche no. 2–3. Scaliger drew up his will in his 68th year on 18 November 1608. The autograph has not survived, but at least five copies are known. All his oriental books and manuscripts, his Greek and Latin manuscripts, his *adversaria* and some of his father's works, were left to the University of Leiden. A number of non-Oriental printed books, listed in a codicil, were set apart: from these, a small number of friends, including Daniel Heinsius, were allowed to select the books they wanted turn and turn about, each being allowed to choose several times. Any remaining books were to be auctioned. Arnoud Vrolijk and Kasper van Ommen (eds), *"All my books in foreign tongues": Scaliger's oriental legacy in Leiden 1609–2009. Catalogue of an exhibition on the quatercentenary of Scaliger's death, 21 January 2009* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2009), pp. 27–28; see also Kasper Van Ommen's essay in this volume.

⁹ Hoeflich, 'Two Heinsius related items', p. 262.

Suffridus Sistinus.¹⁰ Sistinus, a particularly unpleasant individual, had enriched his own library by breaking into the home of Janus Gruter (1560–1627) in Heidelberg and unlawfully appropriating books and manuscripts to which he subsequently refused to allow his fellow scholars access. The commission bids had been entrusted to Vossius's cousin Franciscus Junius (also known as François du Jon, 1591–1677). Heinsius and Gronovius suspected Junius of holding on to the books for which they had bid successfully, particularly any that had come from Gruter's library, to allow Vossius first pick. Vossius had been determined to acquire as many of Gruter's books and manuscripts as he could at the sale. This was not the first or only time that Vossius's integrity came into question.

Both Vossius and Heinsius acquired books in lieu of outstanding payments from Queen Christina, although, in the case of Vossius, there persists more than a suspicion that Vossius selected books and manuscripts from her library considerably over and above what was strictly fair remuneration.¹¹ "For an ardent collector like Vossius, apparently it was books first, morals after".¹² No such suspicion hovers over Heinsius. His library was to become the most extensive private collection in Europe assembled for the study of classical antiquity, a fact reflected in the total sale price of nearly fl. 24,000, regarded as an enormous sum for the time.¹³

Little too is known of the circumstances that brought about the sale of the library by auction. While in Sweden, Nicolaus had had what the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* terms "une liason passagère" with a young woman, Margaretha Wullen, who claimed to have had two sons by him.¹⁴ She subsequently brought an action against him to force him to marry her, and, while after eight years, he did, a large part of the Heinsius estate was spent in legal proceedings. In 1682 she would have been about sixty years of age. One of the reasons for the sale may have been that there was not

¹⁰ Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his circle*, pp. 337–338.

¹¹ Payments from the Queen were at best irregular. Vossius commented that funds, which should have been supporting Heinsius's acquisitions on the Queen's behalf, were being diverted 'to pay spongers and buffoons at court.' The amount of Queen Christina's outstanding debt to Heinsius in 1654 was 5,227 *rijksdaalders*. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his circle*, pp. 454 and 476; quotation on p. 405. See also *Christina Queen of Sweden*, pp. 52, 530. Gribble, *The court of Christina*, (p. 92), notes that Vossius, who had a similar roving commission to Heinsius, 'not only stole a good deal of money, but also appropriated a good many books to his own use.' Blok takes the view, however, that it is difficult to assess if Vossius appropriated more than he was due; *Isaac Vossius and his circle*, p. 481.

¹² Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his circle*, p. 339.

¹³ A.C.J. Willems, *Les Elzevier: histoire et annales typographiques* (2 vols, Brussels: G.A. van Trigt, 1880), no. 925.

¹⁴ *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* Vol. 23, (Paris, 1858), p. 79.

much left to support her after Nicolaus's death. Neither of the two sons, Daniel or Nicolaus, had any interest in the library: Nicolaus junior had been outlawed from Holland on suspicion of murder, and Daniel was involved with the East Indies Council.¹⁵ It may simply have been a lack of attachment to family possessions. This lack of familiar piety has been identified as a particular national trait of the period. It has also been seen as one of the contributory factors to the large number of auctions in the Dutch Republic.¹⁶ There appear to have been negotiations to sell the whole library to the University of Leiden but these came to nothing.¹⁷

The sale of Nicolaus's books began on the 15 March 1683. It was divided into 13,034 lots by subject (Theology, Law, Medicine, etc.) and then within each subject, by size (folio, quarto, etc.). Assuming the conduct of a sale at Leiden was not too radically different from sales elsewhere in the Republic, with between seven hundred and a thousand lots being sold in a day, the auction is unlikely to have taken less than thirteen days.¹⁸ There is little known about the actual conduct of auctions at the time.¹⁹ The Dutch authorities imposed an obligation to print a catalogue of each sale and the rules required a payment on authorisation of two *guilders* and ten *stuivers* and the deposit of eight copies of the catalogue.²⁰ Sales normally began on a Monday morning starting at 9am and finishing at 2pm.²¹ It is not certain if the sale conditions were read out at the beginning of sales.²²

Large sales at Leiden had to take place outside university terms, due to their popularity amongst students whose enthusiasm interrupted lectures and studies. Smaller-scale auctions could take place, but only when there were no lectures.²³ There was an opportunity to view the books in advance and sometimes these viewing days were announced in the sale catalogues

¹⁵ B. De Graaf, 'De Bibliotheca Heinsiana,' *Folium librorum vitae deditum* (Utrecht: J. L. Beijers, 1957), vol. 5, pp. 47–48. I am most grateful to Dr William Kelly and to Mrs Ian Blackley for help in translation from the Dutch.

¹⁶ Otto Lankhorst, 'Dutch auctions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote, eds, *Under the hammer: book auctions since the seventeenth century* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2001), pp. 69–70.

¹⁷ De Graaf, 'De Bibliotheca Heinsiana,' p. 48.

¹⁸ Lankhorst, 'Dutch auctions,' p. 75.

¹⁹ Lankhorst, 'Dutch auctions,' p. 76.

²⁰ Otto Lankhorst, 'Les ventes de livres en Hollande et leurs catalogues (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles),' in Annie Charon et Elisabeth Parinet, eds, *Les ventes de livres et leurs catalogues, XVII^e-XX^e siècle: actes des journées d'étude organisées par l'École Nationale des Chartes, Paris, 15 janvier 1998, et par l'École Nationale Supérieure des Sciences de l'Information et des Bibliothèques, Villeurbanne, 22 janvier 1998* (Paris: École des Chartes, 2000), p. 15.

²¹ Lankhorst, 'Dutch auctions,' p. 76.

²² Lankhorst, 'Les ventes,' p. 23.

²³ Lankhorst, 'Dutch auctions,' p. 69.

themselves. The order in which books were auctioned was different in each town. Sales at The Hague and Leiden were divided into sections, with lots numbered in a separate series for each section, and then sold by size, beginning with folio through to those in smaller format, starting with theological works in folio.²⁴ In Amsterdam, it was the reverse, with the auction starting with books at the end of the catalogue, the miscellaneous works in duodecimo, and finishing with the theological works in folio.²⁵ Books had to be paid for in cash, though generally successful bids by agents or books bought on commission had six weeks credit. The book-seller organising the sale normally received a commission of ten per cent for books and six per cent for manuscripts.²⁶

Priced copies of the *Heinsiana* raise an interesting question about the conduct of the sale. Throughout the sale, the priced copies record individual lots being grouped and sold together. Was this a premeditated decision by the auctioneer to try to speed up the sale by grouping together lots where only small offers might be anticipated? Two weeks is a long time to keep potential buyers present and enthusiastic. Or was the taking together of sequential lots a response to a lack of interest in the room? As priced copies appear to show very few lots as unsold, it would appear more likely that unsold lots were simply being rolled over until they found a buyer.²⁷

The Heinsius sale offered, in order, works on Theology (2,549 lots); Law (570 lots); Medicine (728 lots); Mathematics and Philosophy (1,565 lots); History (1,747 lots); Literature (1,326 lots), Poetry (1,375 lots) and Antiquities (734 lots). It also offered books according to country: his beloved Italy (1,062 lots), about which he published his own book of Latin verse in 1648 and about which two of his happiest elegiac poems are written; France (544 lots); Germany and England (224 lots); and *incompacti* or

²⁴ The earliest sales did not employ lot numbers, but by the late 1620s, the Elzevier sale catalogues at Leiden and The Hague were numbering lots with a separate series for each section, and, thereafter all Dutch catalogues were numbered. Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to A.D. 1800 based on material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965), p. 220.

²⁵ Lankhorst, 'Dutch auctions', p. 72.

²⁶ Otto Lankhorst, 'Les ventes aux enchères des livres à la Haye dans la première moitié du 18^e siècle', in Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, ed., *Le Magasin de l'Univers: the Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade: papers presented at the International Colloquium, held at Wassenaar, 5-7 July 1990* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), p. 209.

²⁷ An exception would appear to be Bishop Moore's copy in the Cambridge University Library (L893.d.1.H.L.) where gaps in the record of prices, combined with a hand that has been described as "careless" and "cramped" have been attributed to the possible presence of the annotator at the auction itself and a difficulty in keeping up with the auctioneer. Hoeflich, 'Two Heinsius related items', p. 263.

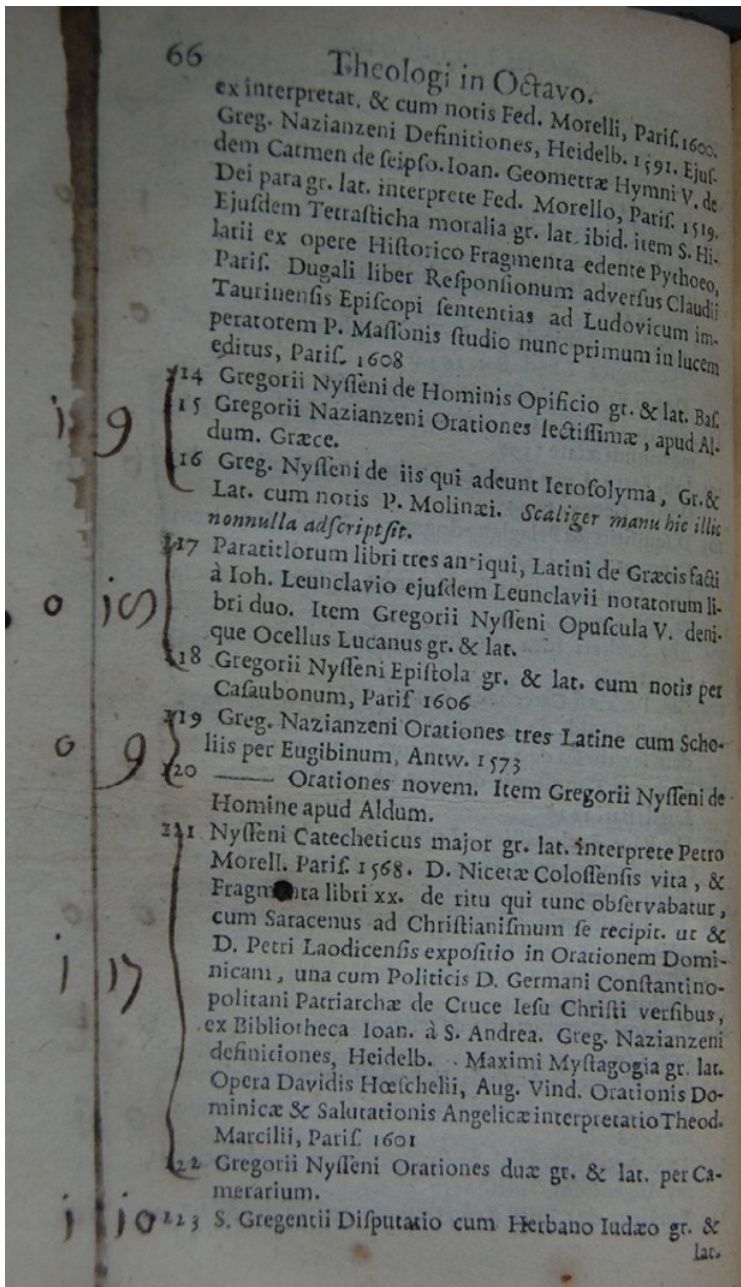


Illustration 6.2. A page from the theological section of the *Heinsiana* showing lots sold together.

miscellaneous (610 lots).²⁸ It is estimated about 85% of the books listed are in Latin, with a fairly high 10% in Italian, and other modern languages about 5%.²⁹

It is probably no surprise that folios, often representing some of the handsomest productions, commanded the highest prices, with quartos next and so on down through the other formats. Notable prices amongst the folios are for La Bigne's monumental patristic work, the *Magna bibliotheca partum*, in seventeen volumes, Paris, 1644 (Theologi no 13) which fetched fl. 140; the 1638, 6-volume Paris edition of the *Opera* of Cyril of Alexandria (Theologi no 50) fl. 68; and the numerous volumes of the *Historiae Byzantinae Scriptores* from the Imprimerie Royale at Paris in 1648, etc. (Historici no 1) fl. 305.³⁰ A buyer paid fl.102 for thirteen volumes of the works of the natural historian and writer on dragons Ulisse Aldrovandi (Medici 24).³¹ This compares interestingly with the £240 paid for 9 volumes by the same author by the Faculty of Advocates for their newly fledged library in Edinburgh.³² These are large sums of money. It has been suggested that within a small tolerance, the prices noted in surviving copies of the catalogue are the same.³³

Leiden book sales in the 1680s began to be attended by buyers from other countries. This was first most noticeable at the Heinsius sale which saw buyers coming from England, France and Germany and marked the beginning of an international market in rare books.³⁴ News of the impending sale would have been well publicised through newspaper advertisements, probably including English newspapers, and the availability of catalogues in major cities, and in England, through the numerous Dutch booksellers then operating in London.³⁵ The publication of catalogues,

²⁸ *Italia, elgiarum liber* (Padua: typis Cribellianis, 1648).

²⁹ De Graaf, 'De Bibliotheca Heinsiana', p. 53.

³⁰ Respectively: Margarin de La Bigne, *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum ... nunc additione ducentorum circiter authorum tam Graecorum ... quam Latinorum ... locupletata*, etc (17 vols., Paris, 1644); Cyril, Saint, Patriarch of Alexandria, *Opera cura & studio Joannis Auberti* (6 vols, Paris: Compagnie de la grand' navire, 1638) & *Corpus byzantinae historiae* (Paris: e Typographia Regia, 1645–1702).

³¹ *Serpentum, et draconum historiae libri duo. B. Ambrosinus opus concinnauit*, etc (Bologna: apud C. Ferronium, 1640).

³² Brian Hillyard, 'The formation of the Library, 1682–1728,' in Patrick Cadell and Ann Matheson, eds, *For the encouragement of learning: Scotland's National Library 1689–1989* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1989), p. 26.

³³ Michael Hoefflich, 'Bibliography in the seventeenth century: J.G. Graevius's lectures,' *The Library, fifth series*, (1977), p. 52.

³⁴ Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of books by catalogue*, p. 220.

³⁵ Lankhorst, 'Dutch auctions,' pp. 67–68. Katherine Swift, 'Dutch penetration of the London market for books, c. 1690–1730' in Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Le Magasin de l'Univers*,

such as the *Heinsiana*, in very small format appears to have been partly to allow them to be sent abroad by letter post.³⁶

Unfortunately no copy of the sale catalogue recording the names of the buyers appears to have survived, though at least two prominent English book collectors are frequently associated with the sale, and there is the possibility of at least two Scotsmen having been present.³⁷ The sale was attended in person by the mathematician and Arabist Edward Bernard (1638–1696) who succeeded Christopher Wren as Savilian professor of Astronomy at Oxford. Prior to the Heinsius sale, Bernard had visited Leiden in 1668 to undertake the transcription of the *Conics* of Apollonius of Perga, which survived only in Arabic versions.³⁸ His visit for the Heinsius sale also gave him the opportunity to make or renew the acquaintance of eminent scholars, including Johann Georg Graevius (1632–1703) and Jacob Gronovius (1645–1716), both also lifelong friends of Nicolaus Heinsius. The flourishing state of oriental scholarship at Leiden prompted Bernard to apply, unsuccessfully, for the professorship of Arabic.

Bernard bought substantially at the sale. Some fifty-three printed items with written notes by eminent scholars are recorded in the Bodleian Library which purchased books from Bernard's widow on his death in 1697.³⁹ Ten alone of his purchases had notes by Scaliger, eight had notes by Nicolaus Heinsius, and others had the notes of Paulus Manutius, Lipsius, Franciscus Dousa and Nicolaus's uncle, Janus Rutgers. His purchases included Daniel Heinsius's 1629 edition of Ovid with notes and manuscript collations by Nicolaus and used by him in the preparation of his own edition.⁴⁰ Presumably Bernard also acquired others with less distinguished provenance which are now harder to identify. For those items that have been identified, he paid a total of 121 *guilders* and 7 *stuivers*, or rather more than the annual basic salary of a contemporary Leiden doctor.⁴¹

p. 279: "We can see how the Dutch booksellers in London adapted their method and adopted new ones in this environment: acting as the channels of advance information about forthcoming Continental book sales and books about to be or newly published there providing English collectors with advance copies of sale catalogues and buying on commission for them in Continental book sales ..."

³⁶ Lankhorst, 'Dutch auctions', p. 68.

³⁷ De Graaf, 'De Bibliotheca Heinsiana', p. 50.

³⁸ ODNB <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2240?docPos=2> 06/05/2011.

³⁹ W.M. Lindsay, 'Books (containing marginalia) of the Bibl. Heinsiana, now in the Bodleian,' in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 18 (1901), pp. 159–163.

⁴⁰ *Operum P. Ovidii Nasonis editio nova* (3vols., Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1661).

⁴¹ Lee Soltow and J.L. van Zanden, *Income and wealth inequality in the Netherlands, 16th–20th century* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1998), p. 43.

It has also been suggested that the sale was attended in person by John Moore (1646–1714) or, at least, his agent.⁴² Moore later became Bishop of Ely. His huge library of some 29,000 books and 1,790 manuscripts was bought by King George I and given to the University of Cambridge in 1715. The richness of Moore's collection, the most important the Library has ever received, brought it into international prominence.⁴³ Unfortunately few of Moore's books can now be identified as having been acquired on his instructions at auctions in the Low Countries. Very little of his correspondence remains, and even less relating to his books. His name occurs only infrequently in the few surviving auction catalogues with names of buyers. While Moore possessed a copy of the *Heinsiana* and owned a number of volumes from the Heinsius library, including Gruter's own copy of his edition of Seneca and Scaliger's own copy of Herodotus, there is no evidence that he was represented at the auction in 1683.⁴⁴ The presence or otherwise of a Dutch signature as McKitterick observes 'is obviously no guide as to where or when Moore acquired it'.⁴⁵

As to the Scottish presence at the sale, with McKitterick's observations in mind about the presence of Dutch signatures, a cautious approach has also to be taken regarding the first Scottish candidate, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1653?–1716) and to the assertion that "Fletcher most probably attended the sale".⁴⁶ Andrew Fletcher, Scottish patriot and political theorist, was a noted traveller and book collector who assembled one of the most important libraries in Scotland of the period amounting to an estimated 6,000 volumes.⁴⁷

⁴² Hoeflich, 'Two Heinsius items', p. 263.

⁴³ David McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library: a history the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. ix; and p. 50: "It is the largest late seventeenth-century private collection to have survived more or less intact". ODNB <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19126?docPos=1120/04/2011>.

⁴⁴ See respectively Cambridge University Library L893.d.1.H.1, Adv.e.32.4 and Adv. a. 19.2. McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, p. 121 n72.

⁴⁵ McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, p. 121.

⁴⁶ P.J.M. Willems, *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana, or, The extraordinary library of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun: reconstructed and systematically arranged by P.J.M. Willems* (Wassenaar: Privately published, 1999), p. xii.

⁴⁷ John W. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham, book dealer: scholarship, patronage, and politics,' *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, No 5, (2010), p. 14. Fletcher's library reflected the interests of a true humanist, with history, literature, language, theology, philosophy law and the sciences all represented. The library included some 48 incunabula, 8 first editions of Galileo, 12 first editions of Kepler, and over a 100 Aldine imprints. It was rich in *editiones principes* of classical authors and had many volumes with interesting provenance ranging from Montaigne to Scaliger. It included

While Fletcher owned a copy of the *Heinsiana* and a number of books from the sale such as Nicolaus Heinsius's copies of the Boccaccio of 1573 and Seneca of 1604, and Daniel Heinsius's Hesiod of 1603, in the absence of other supporting information his attendance or representation at the sale must remain a matter of conjecture.⁴⁸ Having said that, Fletcher was effectively in political exile at The Hague and part of the Scottish émigré community in the Netherlands in the year of the sale.⁴⁹ A report by the English envoy at The Hague places him as in the Netherlands in April, which gets him pretty near to the time of the sale itself.⁵⁰ While abroad, his interest in book collecting had clearly continued. He is described as visiting the libraries of Leiden and picking up volumes among the book-stalls of Haarlem, and if not present at the sale itself, was clearly on the scene soon after and would have been able to purchase items from the sale from local booksellers, as the many volumes in his library priced in *guilders* and *stuivers* may attest.⁵¹

Fletcher was in contact with the noted bibliophile and later Principal of Glasgow University James Fall (1646/7–1711), then in Paris, seeking news of book prices.⁵² Fall and Fletcher had been on a book hunting expedition to Paris in the 1670s, and it may be that Fall had originally introduced Fletcher to Alexander Cunningham, (ca. 1650–1730), book dealer and scholar, who became a lifelong friend of Fletcher, even attending his deathbed.⁵³ Cunningham, who was buying on commission for other collectors at auctions in the Netherlands, has to be another serious candidate for a Scottish presence at the sale. He was also the friend of many notable Dutch scholars of the day, being described by Graevius in 1700 as his and Jacob Gronovius' 'old friend.'⁵⁴ Unfortunately, between early 1681 until early 1686, Cunningham vanishes from the scene. It seems likely that politics probably made it a good period for Cunningham to be out of Scotland and

numerous contemporary Dutch imprints and many volumes priced in guilders and stuivers. Willems, *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana*, pp. xi–xii.

⁴⁸ Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of books by catalogue*, p. 242. Fletcher's copy is issue 3 i.e. with no auction date on the title-page which is printed in black only. The copy has prices noted in manuscript and appears to have been rebound in vellum, possibly by Fletcher. It has his characteristic signature at the head of the title-page.

⁴⁹ G.W.T. Omond, *Fletcher of Saltoun* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, [1897]), p. 21.

⁵⁰ ODNB <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9720?docPos=220/04/2011>.

⁵¹ Omond, *Fletcher of Saltoun*, p. 21.

⁵² ODNB *Fletcher*.

⁵³ Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham, book dealer', p. 14.

⁵⁴ Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham, book dealer', p. 17.

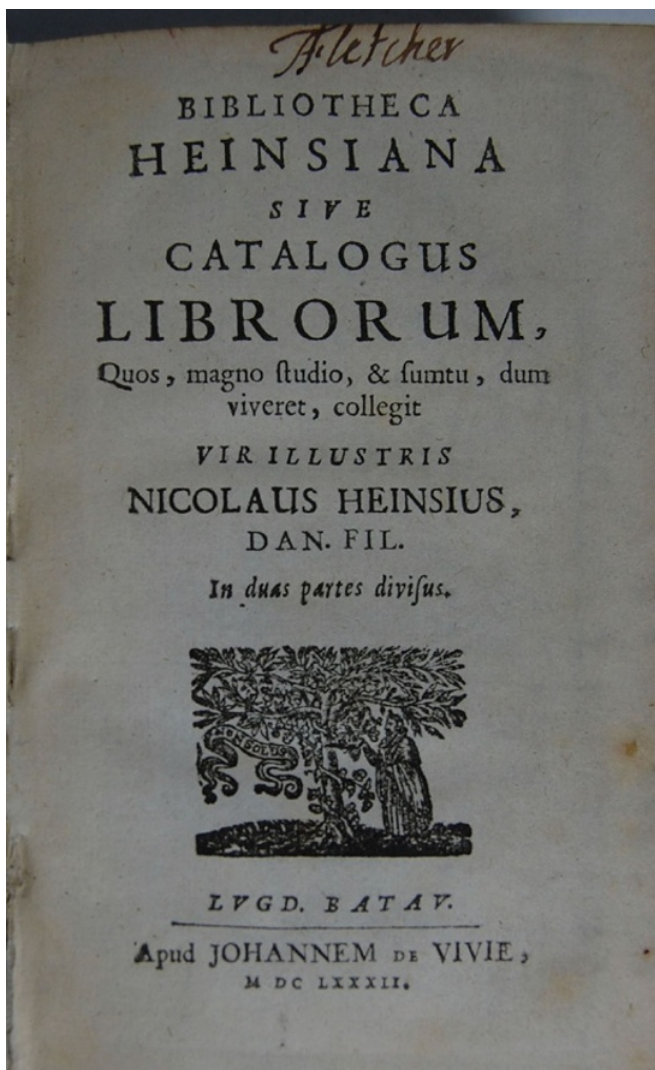


Illustration 6.3. Titlepage of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun's copy of the *Heinsiana*.

fair speculation that he was abroad, studying and buying books for himself and others.⁵⁵ Although the sale catalogue of his library, does not contain a copy of the *Heinsiana*, with his strong connections to the Netherlands, it

⁵⁵ Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham, book dealer', p. 14. I am grateful to Professor Cairns for discussion about this.

seems a not unreasonable speculation that news of the 'sale of the century' is unlikely to have eluded him.⁵⁶

Cunningham was also involved with Bishop Moore in the acquisition of important books and manuscripts. There is an interesting, and, apparently, hitherto overlooked link between the Heinsius sale, Andrew Fletcher and Bishop Moore to be found in the copy of Seneca edited by Gruter and published at Heidelberg in 1604 and now in Cambridge University Library. Although octavo in format, it is catalogued as no 81 with the duodecimo lots in the Mathematics and Philosophy section of the *Heinsiana*. Described by Luard, it had belonged to both Gruter and Nicolaus Heinsius—perhaps one of the books originally from Gruter's library which Heinsius had finally prised out of Junius after the Sustinus sale in 1650.⁵⁷

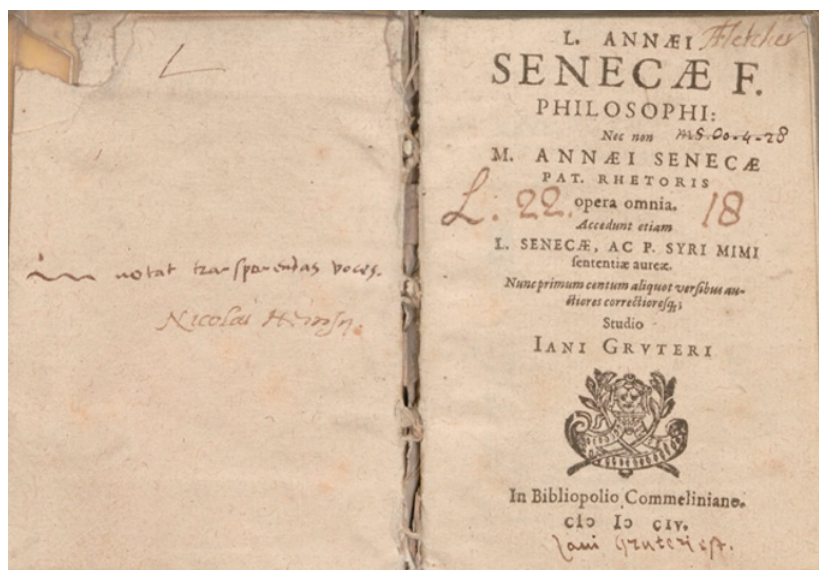


Illustration 6.4. Janus Gruter's edition of Seneca (1604) from Bishop Moore's library with the signatures of Gruter, Nicolaus Heinsius and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

⁵⁶ *Bibliotheca Cuningamia* (Leiden: Johannes van der Linden, 1730). Available in microfiche in the collection *Book sales catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1880* (Leiden: IDC, 1992-), Cat. 118, microfiche no. 202–204.

⁵⁷ H.R. Luard, *Catalogue of adversaria and printed books containing MS. Notes, preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

In the upper right hand corner of the title page, it has the distinctive signature of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, and bears the Royal Library bookplate indicating that it had belonged to Bishop Moore.⁵⁸ It raises an interesting question of its subsequent acquisition by the Bishop. Perhaps this was a book that Moore particularly wished to obtain, or possibly he received it as a gift from Fletcher. Its acquisition by Moore may have been facilitated by Cunningham's knowledge of both Fletcher's and Moore's collections and there is at least one documented example of Cunningham arranging for payment of books obtained from the Bishop by exchange.⁵⁹ Alternatively, its acquisition by Moore may have been by a less honest route. The Bishop's reputation as regards the property of others, where books were concerned, was notorious.⁶⁰

The Heinsius sale catalogue was from the onset viewed as having more than an ephemeral value.⁶¹ Becoming one the most frequently consulted catalogues of its kind, it was rapidly reissued and appears in at least four states, and possibly a fifth if interleaved copies were issued by the printers rather than resulting from specific instruction to binders by individual owners.⁶²

As a scholar, Heinsius was pre-eminently a textual editor. Praised as the 'sospitator poetarum Latinorum,' his selections of the variant readings of numerous Latin poets became the foundation of all the later critical texts.⁶³ This activity found a reflection in his library. With its accumulation of most of the post-1500 editions of authors in whom he was particularly interested, it amounted almost to a universal short-title catalogue of its day, providing with its different editions of the same texts, the opportunity

1864), p. 55. Luard's press mark Oo.IV.28 is now Adv.e.32.4. I am grateful to Mr David J. Hall for examining the book on my behalf.

⁵⁸ Possibly 110.32 in Fletcher's MS. Catalogue. See Willems, *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana*, p. 200, where it is described as being in 16^o.

⁵⁹ Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham, book dealer', p. 21.

⁶⁰ McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, p. 54.

⁶¹ Bernard H. Breslauer and Roland Folter, *Bibliography: its history and development. Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Grolier Club from April 21 to June 6, 1981, to mark the completion of the National Union Catalog, pre-1956 imprints* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1984), no. 80.

⁶² Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of books by catalogue*, p. 242. The Jacob Oizel sale of 1687 exists also in four states, but failed to sell as successfully, with the remaining sheets being sold to Peter van der Aa, who added a title to the effect that it could usefully be placed alongside the *Heinsiana*. The fashion for large paper copies only reappeared much later in the 18th century. Hoefflich, 'Two Heinsius items', p. 264. J.C. Brunet *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres: supplément* (2 vols., Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878–1880), col. 132.

⁶³ Pfeiffer, *Classical scholarship*, p. 129.

for bibliographical identification and comparison.⁶⁴ It was undoubtedly this comprehensiveness that resulted in the successful publication and disposal of such a number of successive issues of the sale catalogue. However, as a research tool, it cannot have been easy to use.⁶⁵ There is no author index and trying to establish what is held of a particular author is made difficult by the distribution of titles by format and even then not necessarily bringing all the works by same author together.⁶⁶ Contemporary classification conventions make it sometimes even more impenetrable for the modern reader.

The thoroughness with which he collected is clearly evident in the range of his printed editions of Ovid. Excluding manuscripts, the catalogue contains some 68 printed items, including the Sweynheym and Pannartz *editio secunda* (Rome, 1471), the second Bologna edition by Azzoguidi of 1480 and probably the previous Azzoguidi, the *editio princeps* (Bologna, 1471), the Aldine edition of 1502, the Aldine edition of the *Fastorum* of 1503, and possibly no less than four copies of the Aldine edition of 1533 of which one was printed on vellum and one of the paper copies having belonged to Franciscus Dousa and Janus Rutgers with their respective annotations. Also included are Scaliger's copy of the 1546 Lyon edition, Gruter's copy of the Plantin edition of 1578, and copies of his father's editions of 1629, 1630 etc., with his own corrections and notes. These last preserved in Oxford and Berlin give impressive evidence of the care and completeness with which he performed his manuscript collations, many of which were undertaken on the tours of European libraries on behalf of his patron Queen Christina, herself a devotee of Ovid.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Hoeflich, 'Bibliography', p. 49 n11.

⁶⁵ 'Les catalogues de vente, pour la plupart peu épais, imprimés avec négligence sur du papier ordinaire, ont une présentation assez anararchique, ce qui les rend difficile d'accès.' Charon and Parinet, *Les ventes de livres et leurs catalogues*, p. 6. Of Abraham Elzevier, the printer of the *Heinsiana*, Willems, *Les Elsevier*, p. CCI, says 'Rien ne peut donner une idée de sa négligence et de son inaptitude. Entre ses mains l'imprimerie de Leyde tombe dans une complète décadence.'

⁶⁶ Having said that, we have no idea of the difficulties which faced Johannes du Vivié, the compiler. As De Graaf, 'De Bibliotheca Heinsiana' (p. 48) points out he must have begun soon after Nicolaus's death on 7 October 1681. The sorting and description of the books of this very large library must have taken several months of work. It cannot be assumed that the library was necessarily all shelved and organised. It had, after all, accompanied Heinsius to Stockholm while he worked for Queen Christina. When it was returned, it was sent to his brother-in-law. The setting, editing and printing of the catalogue must also have taken several weeks.

⁶⁷ E. J. Kenney, *The classical text: aspects of editing in the age of the printed book* (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1974), p. 59. Between 1636 and 1661, Heinsius collated 286 manuscripts of Ovid. If his manuscripts are counted separately for each work, the total

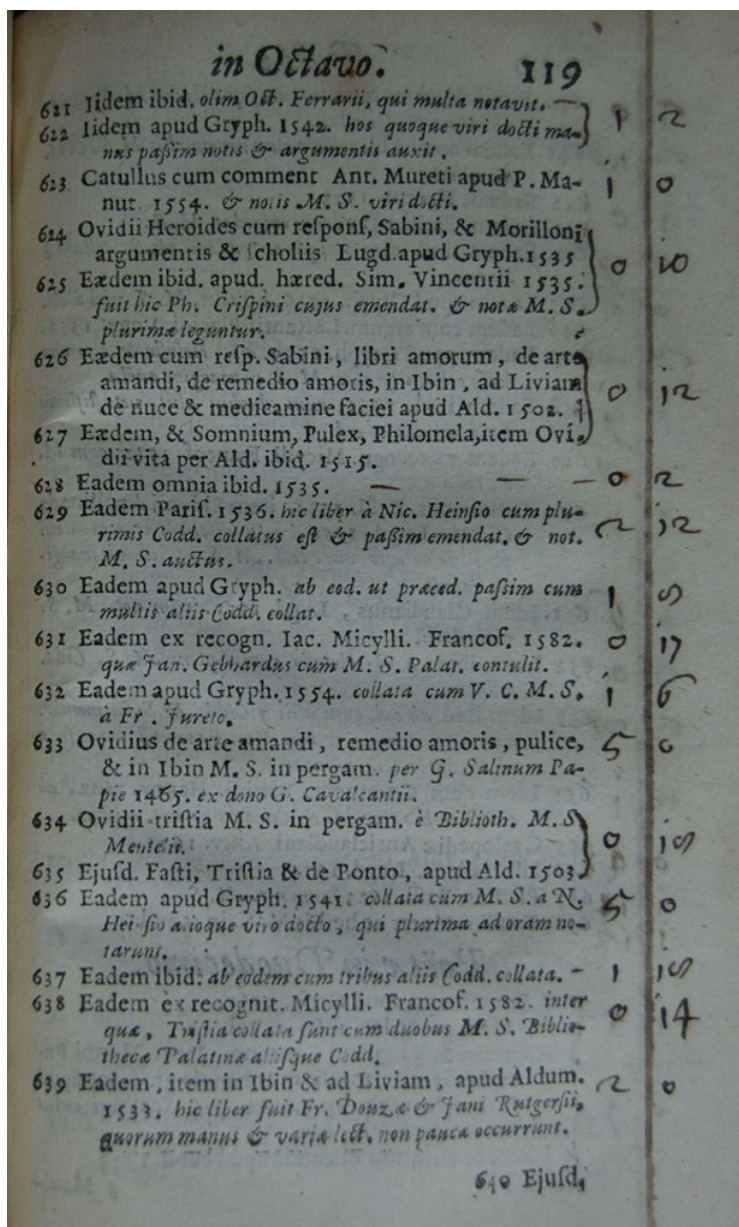


Illustration 6.5. A page from the *Heinsiana* with some of Heinsius's extensive collection of editions of Ovid, including lots 621, 622, 623, 631, 637 and 639 bought by Professor Edward Bernard.

Pollard and Ehrman suggest that the large paper copy of the Heinsiana was produced specifically to accommodate students' lecture notes in the margin, and more specifically those of Johann Georg Graevius (1632–1703) who is credited with delivering 'some of the earliest European lectures in bibliography.'⁶⁸ Graevius, a pupil of Nicolaus's father Daniel, held the chairs of rhetoric, and history and politics at Utrecht. He enjoyed a huge reputation as a teacher and his lecture rooms were crowded with pupils. A number of copies survive with annotations deriving from Graevius's lectures. Many of the comments amount to little more than a simple 'liber rarus' or 'editio optima' abbreviated sometimes to 'LR' or 'EO.'⁶⁹ Others are more specific, such as his censorship of Jacques-Auguste de Thou because he praised certain heretics. Some of the comments are biographical, and others identify the authors of several anonymous works. A number of these annotated copies are also priced and in a number of instances Graevius's intellectual valuations are often corroborated by the auction prices achieved by the works in question. For example, he singled out for praise the 1553 edition of the Florentine *Pandects* which fetched the very substantial sum of twenty two *guilders* and ten *stuivers*.⁷⁰

The sale occurred at a time when tastes in book collecting were beginning to change. Birrell notes that "there was not much bibliographical interest in the seventeenth-century auction rooms".⁷¹ Antiquarian interest was in its infancy, but on the increase. Notes on rarity start to creep in around 1720, and the sale of the books of Pierre Gosse from The Hague uses a single star to signify not common, a double star for rare and three stars for books of the greatest rarity.⁷² The *Heinsiana* singles out a few printers such as Aldus, Estienne, and others, although reference to such

rises to 458. M.D. Reeve, 'Heinsius's manuscripts of Ovid: a supplement,' in *Reinisches Museum für Philologie* N.F. 119 (1976), p. 76. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his circle*, p. 287.

⁶⁸ Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of books by catalogue*, p. 242. While Pollard and Ehrman (p. 328, no. 230) record a copy with a note that the comments came from lectures at Utrecht in 1691, these lectures must surely have been given earlier if they were reason for the production of the large paper copy, and which Pollard and Ehrman suggest as being from the same setting of the type as their state no (iii) of the same date (1682), but re-imposed for the large paper variant. If this is correct, then what is, of course, of particular interest is the imaginative leap on behalf of both printer and lecturer to envisage the additional use and market for the catalogue beyond the immediate purposes of the sale itself. Hoefflich, 'Bibliography', p. 49.

⁶⁹ Hoefflich, 'Bibliography', p. 50.

⁷⁰ Hoefflich, 'Bibliography', p. 52.

⁷¹ T.A. Birrell, 'Books and buyers in seventeenth-century English auction sales' in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote, *Under the hammer*, p. 55.

⁷² Lankhorst, 'Dutch auctions', p. 76.

printers by the compiler of the catalogue is more likely to be because of their reputation as scholarly printers, it being coincidental that they also produced such handsome volumes or were pioneers of improved typography. The collection is also significant for unusually large number of incunabula.⁷³ The *Heinsiana* notes works printed on vellum. Provenance and association with the masters of classical scholarship were clearly of interest and importance to Heinsius, and also to those such as Bernard buying at the sale with his clear interest in important association items.⁷⁴ Where the sale catalogue records what the cataloguer clearly felt to be a distinguished provenance, this is printed in italic.

If the *Heinsiana* stands at the threshold of a new age of book collecting, its influence, along with a handful of other important sale catalogues, and in particular those of the libraries of Jean des Cordes and Jacques-Auguste de Thou, persisted as a highly recommended reference source for almost the next hundred years.⁷⁵ With private collections usually being significantly more substantial than those of institutions and, at the time of their original publication, with no large classified lists of works across all fields being readily available, such catalogues were quickly proved invaluable. The best contemporary bibliographical dictionary, the *Bibliotheca universalis* of Conrad Gesner, Zurich, 1545 was expensive and difficult to obtain, with even the latest edition being already sixty years old by the time of the des Cordes sale.⁷⁶

Beginning with Valentin Heinrich Vogler's *Introductio universalis in notitiam cuiusunque generis bonorum scriptorum* (Helmstedt: H. Müller, 1670), Archer Taylor provides a survey of the systematic efforts to list catalogues of private libraries as reference works in the guides to scholarship and surveys of learning produced from the second half of the seventeenth through to the eighteenth centuries.⁷⁷ From the third edition of Vogler's work, the editor, Hermann Dietrich Meibom, includes the *Heinsiana* amongst a short list of catalogues of which he comments "They are not only richer than other catalogues but are also better in the citation of editions".⁷⁸ Daniel Georg Morhof's widely read and influential

⁷³ Hoefflich, 'Bibliography', p. 49.

⁷⁴ As evidenced by Heinsius's efforts to acquire Gruter's books at the Sustinus sale. See above.

⁷⁵ *Cordesianae catalogus* (Paris: A. Vitré 1643) *Catalogus bibliothecae Thuanæ* (2 vols., Paris: J. Quesnel, 1679).

⁷⁶ Archer Taylor, *Book catalogues: their varieties and uses* (New York: Frederic C. Beil, 1987), p. 109.

⁷⁷ Taylor, *Book catalogues*, pp. 178–186.

⁷⁸ Taylor, *Book catalogues*, p. 178.

Polyhistor (Lübeck: P. Böckmann, 1688) cites more than a dozen private library catalogues, including the *Heinsiana* where he notes the many works annotated by famous scholars. Christopher August Heumann's *Conspectus reipublicae literariae sive via ad historiam literariam juventuti studiosae aperta* (Havover: N. Foerster, 1718) which ran to seven editions includes the *Heinsiana* as one of three foreign private library catalogues. Catalogues of private libraries become less frequently cited as reference works from the mid eighteenth century with the increasing availability of more accessible institutional catalogues, and, by the nineteenth century, reference to them was probably more for the interests of the bibliophile than scholar.

As Taylor points out, many of our reasons for wishing to study the *Heinsiana* and similar catalogues and inventories, is anticipated by Dr Johnson in the course of his preface to the Harleian Library catalogue.⁷⁹ While as a good salesman Johnson begins by describing the Harleian catalogue as excelling “any Library that has ever yet been offered to public sale”, he also hopes that “it will not be of less use to Men of Letters, than those of the Thuanian, Heinsian, or Barberinian Libraries”.⁸⁰ He continues:

Nor is the Use of Catalogues of less Importance to those whom Curiosity has engaged in the Study of Literary History, and who think the intellectual Revolutions of the World more worthy of their Attention, than the Ravages of Tyrants, the Desolation of Kingdoms, the Rout of Armies, and the Fall of Empires. Those who are pleased with observing the Birth of new Opinions, their Struggles against Opposition, and their silent Progress under Persecution, their general Reception, their gradual Decline, or sudden Extinction; those that that amuse themselves with remarking the different Periods of human Knowledge, and observe how Darkness and Light succeed each other, by what Accident the most gloomy Nights of Ignorance have given way to the Dawn of Science, and how Learning has languished and decayed, for Want of Patronage and Regards, or have been overborne by the Providence of fashionable Ignorance, or lost amidst the Tumults of Invasion, and the Storms of Violence. All those who desire any Knowledge of the Literary Transactions of past Ages, may find in Catalogues, like this at least, such an Account as is given by Annalists and Chronologers of Civil History.

⁷⁹ Taylor, *Book catalogues*, p. 171.

⁸⁰ *Catalogus bibliothecae Harleianae*, (5 vols., London: Thomas Osborne, 1743–45), Vol. 1, p. 2.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PRINTED AUTOBIBLIOGRAPHIES FROM THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Jürgen Beyer and Leigh T.I. Penman

Autobibliography is a word that cannot yet be found in standard dictionaries. It is a term we have coined, but its meaning is not difficult to guess.¹ Just as an autobiography is a biography written by the person portrayed in the text, so an autobibliography is a bibliography of works written by the compiler of the list. None of the lists this article is concerned with actually uses the word *autobibliography*, or some Latin or vernacular equivalent. Instead, we find terms such as *catalogus*, *elenchus*, *syllabus* in Latin or *Index*, *Register* and *Verzeichniß* in German.

Although the term itself might be new, the activity is, of course, a practice with which most readers of this piece will already be familiar. Whenever new cultural practices become prominent, historians feel compelled to trace the roots of the seemingly new phenomena, and often they find quite early predecessors. This can account for the recent trend in studies on aspects of globalisation during the early modern period. Whether historians and other scholarly readers choose consciously to reflect on the matter or not, in recent years, scholars in most countries have become accustomed to writing in the autobibliographical genre, and indeed for several reasons. Sometimes autobibliographies are required for the benefit of research assessment exercises and the research development offices (and the ubiquitous officers) of their universities. Sometimes they are authored in the interest of self-promotion, for instance on private

¹ In the course of finishing this essay, we realised that our coining of the term 'autobibliography' had been an instance of polygenesis. Of earlier occurrences we have come across R.J. Chambers, *An autobibliography* [Occasional paper 15] (Lancaster: International Centre for Research in Accounting, 1976); Bernhard H. Breslauer & Roland Folter, *Bibliography. Its history and development. Catalogue of an exhibition* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1984), pp. 22, 35, 89. The word has also been used in a different sense such as 'results of subject searching in the library catalog' (Nancy Babb, 'Bibliography versus auto-bibliography: tackling the transformation of traditions in the research process,' *Law Library Journal* 98 (2006), 451–480; here 455).

homepages or as crucial parts of job applications.² In grant applications, in addition to providing an autobiography, applicants are often required to select and defend their 'most important contributions' to the field of research in question.

Where did such practices begin? And why? This chapter is a contribution towards an answer to these questions. It is worth mentioning that, as a type of list, autobiographies mostly do not suffer from problems which plague the other kinds of lists—publisher inventories, bookseller sheets, library catalogues, auction catalogues, censorship records, etc.—which are discussed elsewhere in this volume. The compilers of those lists often knew little, or at least not a great deal, about the books they were recording. Our compilers, on the other hand, had not only read the books on their lists, they had also written them! A study of autobiography therefore sheds light not only on practices of list-making and recording of printed works during the early-modern period, but also offers insight into modes of self-representation: autobiography can become, under certain circumstances, a kind of autobiography. While occasionally inclusions or omissions in autobiographies might be attributable to failure of memory, the works included or omitted were intended to represent the author in a particular fashion to his readers.

The autobiographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries discussed in the present article do not represent an exhaustive catalogue of those available, but are merely a selection from those which have been discovered by, or have been brought to the attention of the authors by colleagues. All writers to be discussed in this essay spoke some kind of German, whether high or low, as their native tongue. Consequently their books were printed in either German or Latin. They were born in Bohemia, Lauenburg, Mecklenburg, Saxony and Courland. Two of the authors worked for most of their lives in the same place, Wolfenbüttel and Pernau (Pärnu), while others moved around as peripatetic scholars, wandering religious dissidents, or bigamists on the run from outraged contemporaries.

² Cf. Jürgen Beyer's autobiographies in the Estonian Research Information System ETIS (*Eesti teadusinfosüsteem*, nicknamed *Jätis* ('rubbish, scum'): <https://www.etis.ee/portaal/isikuPublikatsioonid.aspx?LastNameFirstLetter=B&PersonVID=36807&lang=et&FromUrlo=isikud.aspx>) following the prescribed style-sheet not at all used in the humanities as well as the more clearly structured list on his homepage: <http://www.ut.ee/~jbeyer>. On ETIS cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'Otium reficit vires ja humanitaaride töötingimused,' trans. Vahur Aabrams, *Sirp. Eesti kultuurileht* 2010, no. 39 (22 October 2010), p. 3 (with references to the previous newspaper debate). For Leigh Penman's works in this genre, cf. his profile at <http://tinyurl.com/PenmanL>.

Due to lack of space, several autobibliographies known to the authors cannot be discussed in this essay. The first, by the Zurich scholar Conrad Gesner, known as the father of bibliography, which was published in two editions, is simply too large for adequate analysis to be included here.³ A second list, by Joseph Furtttenbach senior and junior, is unusual in reprinting the title pages of the books, a method which otherwise first gained ground in the second half of the twentieth century.⁴ A third by the Kiel University professor Christian Kortholt, was printed in several successively enlarged editions.⁵ A fourth, possibly the most voluminous of all, by Erasmus Francisci, commonly considered to have been the first German author to live by his pen, has also been omitted.⁶ Finally, well-known church historian Gottfried Arnold appended a list of his works and prefaces to a book of 1708.⁷ One might also mention a very early list of 1474

³ Conrad Gesner, *De libris à se editis Epistola Ad Gvilielmvm Tvrnervm Theologum et Medicum excellentiſſ.* in *Anglia* (Zurich: Christophorus Froschouerus, 1562) (VD16: G1764); id., 'De libris à se editis Epistola ad Gvilielmvm Tvrnervm Theologum & Medicum excellentiss. in Anglia,' in Iosias Simlerus, *Vita clarissimi philosophi et medici excellentissimi Conradi Gesneri Tigurini. Item, Epistola Gesneri de libris à se editis. Et Carmina complura in obitum eius conscripta* (Zurich: Froschouerus, 1566), fols. 20v–31r. Urs Leu (Zurich) was so kind to point out this autobibliography to us.

⁴ Joseph Furtttenbach & Joseph Furtttenbach, *Catalogvs Oder Register aller deren B[ü]cher / So von Mechanischen / albereit experimentirten Künsten tractieren / welche mehrtheils in offnem Truck seynd publiciert worden / auch noch zuſolgen haben ... Vnd seynd die oberhandte Bücher samentlichen bey den Authorn in Vlm zuſinden* (Augsburg: Johann Schultes, 1652). Naturally, while the text of the title pages is rendered with an accuracy unusual for the period, we are here not dealing with facsimiles.

⁵ Christian Kortholt, *Scriptorum hucusque a se editorum syllabus* [Kiel: n. pr., ca. 1685]; id., *Scriptorum hucusque editorum syllabus; una cum necessaria admonitione de edenda posthac historia ecclesiastica* (Kiel: Joachimus Reumannus, 1688); id., *Scriptorum hucusque editorum syllabus; una cum necessaria admonitione de edenda quamprimum historia ecclesiastica, aliisque posthac ejus libris* (n. pl.: n. pr. 1694); also as an appendix to a funeral sermon: Joachim Lindemann, *Memoriam theologi vere christiani, in viro dn. Christiano Kortholt* (Rostock: Joh. Weppelingius, n. d.).

⁶ Erasmus Francisci, *Verzeichniß meiner / Erasmi Francisci / bißhero gedruckter Schrifften / Auff Unterschiedlicher fürnehmer Patronen Verlangen von mir in Druck gegeben* (Nuremberg: in Verlegung deß Authoris ... Zu finden bey Wolfgang Moritz Endtern, 1691). On Francisci living off his publications, cf. Wolfgang Brückner, 'Francisci, Erasmus,' in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, vol. 5 (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985–87), coll. 44–48, here col. 44. Niels Heldvad (1564–1634), however, who preceded Francisci by several decades and published not only in High German but also in Low German and Danish, has much better claims to the title of first professional German author, cf. H.V. Gregersen, *Niels Heldvad. Nicolaus Helduaderus. En biografi* [Skrifter, udgivne af Historisk samfund for Sønderjylland 17] (Copenhagen: Danske Boghandleres Kommissionsanstalt, 1957).

⁷ [Gottfried Arnold], 'Verzeichniß der Schrifften des Autoris, und derer Vorreden über andere Bücher,' in id., *Die Abwege Oder Irrungen und Versuchungen gutwilliger und frommer Menschen* (Frankfort: Thomas Fritsch, 1708), pp. [61]f.

with only rudimentary bibliographical information that also gives titles by other authors.⁸ The constraints of space have also required us to forego bibliographies which compilers of bibliographies or of biographical dictionaries inserted into sections devoted to themselves. Once more, one might begin with Gesner, but Flensburg headmaster Johannes Moller would also be an interesting case.⁹

Of autobiographies by authors with different mother tongues we could mention here those by Erasmus of Rotterdam, Girolamo Cardano, John Caius, Jan Amos Comenius, Johannes Hofman, and Antonio Possevino.¹⁰ After some deliberation we have decided to omit from consideration one of the most prominent sixteenth-century bibliographies of individual authors, the "Catalogus oder Register" (1533) which can be found in one of Martin Luther's books, on the grounds that it may not be a true autobiography. A list of Luther's publications was published separately in 1528. When it was reissued in a somewhat revised form in 1533,

⁸ Joannes Regiomontanus, *Opera collectanea. Faksimiledrucke*, ed. Felix Schmeidler [Milliaria 10, 2] (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1972), 533.

⁹ Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca Vniuersalis, siue Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus, in tribus linguis, Latina, Græca, & Hebraica* (Zurich: Christophorus Froschouer, 1545), fols. 179v–183r; Johannes Moller, *Cimbria literata*, 3 vols., Copenhagen: Gottmann. Frid. Kisel 1744, here vol. 1, pp. 428–433. The interleaved copy held at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Ny kgl. Saml. 738^l-VIII, 2^o) contains many additions from the hand of the author's son, Olaus Henricus Moller.

¹⁰ See respectively Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Catalogvs omnium Erasmi Roterodami lucubrationum, ipso autore, cum aliis nonnullis* (Basle: Ioannes Frobenivs, 1523). The other titles in this volume, not all by Erasmus, are ignored on the title page. Girolamo Cardano, *De libris propriis. The editions of 1544, 1550, 1557, 1562, with supplementary material*, ed. Ian Maclean [Filosofia e scienza nell'età moderna, 3rd ser., vol. 15] (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004). Chris Coppens (Louvain) was so kind to direct our attention to this author. Ioannes Caius, [*D*]e libris suis liber vnus (London: Gulielmus Seresius, 1570) (published jointly with id., *De Canibvs Britannicis* (London: Gulielmus Seresius, 1570). J[ohn] A[mos] Comenius, *I. Fortunæ Faber. II. Diogenes Cynicus III. Abraham Patriarcha. Nunc simul editi. Cum appenso ejusdem Authoris Scriptorum Catalogo* (Amsterdam: Petrus van den Berge, 16[61]–62). Each of the three works has its own title-page and pagination (the title pages of *Fortunæ faber* and *Abraham patriarcha* are dated to 1661, while *Diogenes cynicus* carries the year 1662). *Fortunæ faber*, pp. 73–103, contains the autobiography in the form of a letter: "J. Comenius Petro Montano s". On pp. 103f. follows yet another list: „Elenchus librorum, Qvos Petrus van den Berge Typis edidit, & multorum aliorum qvorum copia ipsi suppetit“ (including the book the reader holds in his hands). L.F. Groenendijk, 'Een catalogus van Hofmanniana,' *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 8 (1984), 81–94. Fred van Lieburg (Amsterdam) alerted us kindly to this title. Jean Dorigny, *Vita del p. Antonio Possevino della compagnia di Gesù ... illustrata con varie note, e più lettere inedite, e parecchi Monumenti aggiunti alla fine*, trans. [Niccolò Ghezzi], vol. 2 (Venice: Remondini, 1759), pp. 58–81. This information has been kindly provided by Federico Zuliani (London). The autobiography is not contained in the French original: [Jean Dorigny], *La vie du pere Antoine Possevin de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris: Etienne Ganeau, 1712).

it was accompanied by a preface from Luther's pen explicitly denying his authorship of the text.¹¹ While a fair number of the bibliographies of individual authors from the early-modern period may well actually be clandestine autobibliographies (one may compare them to the lengthy lists of publications appended to modern-day *Festschriften*, often of curiously indeterminate origin), it appears that, whatever the source of Luther's list, there was sufficient commercial interest in compiling a bibliography of this best-selling author, and Luther's denial might have been more than a mere *Bescheidenheitstopos*. In any case, it is interesting to note that the critical edition of Luther's works only reprints the preface.¹²

There are several obvious questions which can be put to printed autobibliographies, and which will be pursued throughout this essay: Why did autobibliographies exist? How did authors explain or even excuse this practice of self-advertisement? How, if at all, does the content of and nature of the autobibliographies reflect on the characters of their authors? And finally, to what extent can autobibliographies assist us in determining the accuracy of modern bibliographical tools? This final question, which is a focus of the present paper, provides crucial opportunities to reflect on the accuracy of both the modern catalogues, as well as their autobibliographical counterparts.

All the autobibliographies discussed here have been checked against the data collected in the two major, but incomplete, German-language bibliographical databases *VD16* and *VD17* as required.¹³ Additionally, some, such as those of the Livonian pastor Friedrich Löwenstein and the Bohemian prophet Paul Felgenhauer, have been the object of more detailed bibliographical investigations, for instance by searching the *Karlsruhe Virtual Catalogue*, by consulting specialised bibliographies, or indeed handwritten catalogues from some libraries not yet fully arrived in

¹¹ Martin Luther, 'Vorrede,' in *Catalogus oder Register aller Bücher vnd schriften / D. Mart. Luth. durch jn ausgelassen / vom jar. M.D. XVIII. bis jns .XXXIII. Mit einer Vorrhede* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1533), fols. A2r–A3v.

¹² Martin Luther, 'Vorrede zum Catalogus oder Register aller Bücher und Schriften Luthers. 1533,' in id., *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 38 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1912), pp. 132–134.

¹³ *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (<http://www.vd16.de>); *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (<http://www.vd17.de>); cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'How complete are the German national bibliographies for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (*VD16* and *VD17*)?', in *The book triumphant. Print in transition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, ed. Malcolm Walsby & Graeme Kemp (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 57–77.

the digital age.¹⁴ Our focus, however, is on printed autobibliographies, which list printed books.

Several autobibliographies discussed below list not only works of the author already printed, but also forthcoming books. As a rule, we have not tried to identify these forthcoming manuscript works in *VD16* and *VD17*, since some of them may never have been printed, while others might have been published, albeit under different titles. Findings concerning *VD16* are, unfortunately, to a high degree preliminary. While in the printed version the available data is structured in a systematic and transparent way, this cannot be said about the electronic successor, which adds many additional titles.¹⁵ The interface of this database has been updated frequently, and identical searches repeated within a few days often yield completely different results. One of the versions with which we had to work did not display *VD16* numbers on the printouts. Bafflingly, the current version of *VD16* no longer identifies library pressmarks as it once did, only the names of the libraries holding the book. We are therefore not told, how many copies of a specific book a library holds or whether they are incomplete. The two databases, unfortunately, could not assist in finding further autobibliographies, since they do not index the occurrence of such lists.

We shall present the autobibliographies, and their creators, in chronological order. Those selected for discussion include Caspar Brusch (1553), Michael Praetorius (1619), Friedrich Menius (1635), Paul Felgenhauer (1648, 1655), Friedrich Löwenstein (1655), and finally August Pfeiffer (1691). While there is no space in the present contribution to include the (often very lengthy) autobibliographies discussed, we will endeavour to cover some of the most salient and interesting issues raised by each list. In the conclusion, we will return to some of the prominent features and themes raised by the autobibliographies, and point out some possibilities for further research in this potentially rich field.

Caspar Brusch (1553)

Caspar Brusch was born in Schlaggenwald (Horní Slavkov) in northwest Bohemia in 1518. The following year the family moved to Eger (Cheb) where he attended school (and consequently added “Egranus” to his

¹⁴ <http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html>.

¹⁵ *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 25 vols. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1983–2000).

name). He continued his schooling at Hof, before studying at the universities of Tübingen, Wittenberg and Leipzig. As a writer he was mainly active in three fields; poetry (crowned by Emperor Charles V as poet laureate in 1541), historical works, and translations (for instance works by Philipp Melanchthon from Latin into German). Brusch can best be described as a peripatetic scholar. He never stayed at any one place for more than a few years. On his travels through Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy he collected material for his historical works. He was murdered along the road between Rothenburg and Windsheim in 1557.¹⁶ While in Basle in 1553, he appended an autobibliography to an edition of Engelbert of Admont's *De Ortu & fine Romani Imperij Liber*, a work of the early fourteenth century. The book was printed by Johannes Oporinus in Basle.¹⁷

In this autobibliography, Brusch regularly indicates both the place of publication and the name of the printer, but he only rarely mentions the year of publication. His list nevertheless appears to be arranged in chronological order. Sometimes he indicates the number of "foliæ", indicating the length of a certain work, but these figures not always match the data in *VD16*. We have the impression that Brusch sometimes gives the number of leaves and sometimes the number of sheets in the publication. Brusch also commonly indicates the dedicatee(s) of his printed works, a significant and insightful piece of information which has unfortunately not been included in *VD16*.

All titles are given in Latin. The German titles are therefore translated and provided with an indication such as "liber Germanicus". This makes it somewhat difficult to trace them in *VD16*, but there is also some work to do on the Latin titles, since they often are not cited in a very exact fashion.¹⁸ Brusch sometimes indicates the format of the book.

¹⁶ Adalbert Horawitz, *Caspar Bruschius. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation* (Prague & Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, 1874); Karl Siegl, 'Zur Geschichte der Egerer Familie Brusch mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Humanisten Kaspar Brusch und seines Veters Balthasar Brusch,' *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 69 (1931), 196–211; John L. Flood, *Poets laureate in the Holy Roman Empire. A bio-bibliographical handbook*, vol. 1 (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), pp. 249–256; Josef Weinmann, *Egerländer biografisches Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Männedorf: Josef Weinmann, 1985), p. 92.

¹⁷ Caspar Brusch, 'Lucubrationcularū Elenchus, Basileæ congestus in Calendis Iunijs, Anni à nato Christo 1553,' in Engelbert of Admont, [*D*]e Ortu & fine Romani Imperij Liber. Cum Gasparis Brvschii ... Præfatione (Basle: Ioannes Oporinus, 1553), pp. 152–165.

¹⁸ Cf., for instance, "Dialogi Biblici ex Genesi excerpti, pro iuuentute Neumburgēsi, Nicolai Medleri Theologiæ doctoris filijs dicati, cum pijs & sacris Bruschij Epigrammatibus: Lipsiæ excusi apud Blumium"(Brusch, 'Lucubrationcularū Elenchus', p. 156) to *VD16*

In sum Brusch's list contains 54 titles, as well as seven works announced as forthcoming and a group of 14 titles in which Brusch acted as what *VD16* calls a *Beiträger* (i. e. a contributor, for instance of an occasional verse). In some of the titles listed among the books proper, his role might possibly be more accurately described as contributor as well, for he was the translator, editor or compiler of several of these works, or indeed merely contributed poems to them.

Although most autobiographies discussed here are simple lists, Brusch occasionally adds explanatory comments concerning his books. In these cases his presentation is reminiscent of the autobiographical practices of Erasmus, Cardano, Gesner, Caius or Francisci. Such discursive autobiographies might be considered to be the forerunners of a present-day grant applicant's explanation of the ingenuity of his publications, as requested by grant-giving bodies. To mention just one of Brusch's comments: his German translation of Melanchthon's sermon collection was reissued a short while later by Johannes Pollicarius under his own name, who, as Brusch indignantly points out, had had the audacity to change the work's preface and to dedicate the book to someone else!¹⁹

Of the 54 titles, 10 are not to be found in *VD16*.²⁰ Strangely, most of the missing titles are from the first and the last years covered by the list. Intriguingly, *VD16* also contains some titles omitted by Brusch. These seem to have been publications with only a small contribution by Brusch, or

L 2287: *Colloquiorvm sacrorum vtriusque instrumenti Diuini, per Gasparem Lænerum excerptorum, & in quin[que] Tomos digestorum* (Leipzig: Michael Blum, 1543).

¹⁹ "Eum [sic] laborem sibi paulo post (tantum Prolegomenis immutatis, & dedicatione ad alios conuersa) Ioannes Pollicarius uendicauit, beneficiorum in se olim collatorum parum memor" (Brusch, 'Lucubrationum Elenchus', p. 158).

²⁰ "Tabula Philosophiæ partitionē cōtinens, Tübingæ excusa apud eundem Morhardum, anno 1537"; "Tabula prædicamentū qualitatis prolixè explicās, Vlmæ excusa apud Sebastianū Francū, et Sebastiano Aytingero Vlmesiū Archiscribæ dedicata"; "Tabula descriptionē mōtis Piniferi ... explicans: Georgio Læto Voytlando, Augustanæ urbis Archigrammatæo inscripta: Vlmæ, apud Sebastianum Francū & Ioannem Zurælum excusa"; "Odarū Horatianarū et omniū carminū Harmoniæ, trib. et quattuor uocib. à Benedicto Duce cōpositæ cū Bruschij uersib. in capite et calce opusculi adiectis"; "Precatio contra hostes Euangelij carmine heroico scripta, & Vitebergæ apud Petrum Schirlenczium impressa"; "Minuta quædam Poematia, Epitaphia nimirum, & Carmen de laudibus Bibliorum: Viennæ excusa sunt anno 1552"; "De Murbacensis monasterij ampliāimi origine Elegia, apud Oporinum excusa"; "Ad Basileam Idyllion, de laudibus typographorum Basiliensium"; "Liber incerti autoris de Philosophia, à Bruschio inuentus, & cum eiusdem præfatione editus Basileæ apud Oporinum"; "Ioci & seria à Bruschio collecta, partimq[ue] ipso auctore scripta, & Nicolao Comiti à Salm dicata: prodire Basileæ apud Oporinum" (Brusch, 'Lucubrationum Elenchus', p. 153–155, 161–163).

works by Brusch translated by someone else.²¹ Brusch had apparently either forgotten them, or not thought them worthy of remark.

Michael Praetorius (1619)

Michael Praetorius was born at Creuzburg near Eisenach between 1569 and 1573. In 1573 the family moved to Torgau. Educated at the grammar schools of Torgau and Zerbst and the University of Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, he worked from 1587 to 1590 as an organist at Frankfurt, before taking up a similar position in Wolfenbüttel. There he stayed until 1613, advancing in the course of time to the position of *Kapellmeister* at the ducal court. Before his 1621 death, he divided his time between Dresden and Wolfenbüttel. Praetorius is not only known as one of the most important composers of his time in Germany but also as one of the foremost theorists of music.²²

Praetorius's autobibliography was published in 1619 in part 3 of his *Syntagma musicum*.²³ According to Praetorius, the lengthy list contains vocal works both published and unpublished, but, strangely, there is no indication in this list of precisely which works had appeared in print and which had not. As this paper is primarily interested in whether autobibliographies can provide information beyond VD16 and VD17, we can make the analysis short. VD17 does not contain "musica practica" (which probably could be translated into English as 'sheet music'), and therefore it does not contain any of the works on Praetorius's list.

Friedrich Menius (1635)

Friedrich Menius was born in 1593 or 1594 at Woldegk (Mecklenburg). Scholarship has adduced contradictory biographical information,

²¹ Cf., for instance, VD16 B8783, a 1551 German translation by Johann Herold of Brusch's chronicle of the archbishops of Mayence.

²² Bernhold Schmid, 'Praetorius, Michael', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 20 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001), pp. 668–670.

²³ Michaël Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, vol. 3 (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein // [Michael Praetorius], 1619), pp. 198–228. VD17 23:637903G contains apparently the same text but has a title page of its own incorporating some of the introductory text on p. 198. VD17 considers this to be an offprint.

however the following seems plausible.²⁴ He studied at the universities of Rostock and Greifswald. At some time he served as field-chaplain to the Swedish field-marshal Gustav Horn. Between 1630 and 1631 he was a pastor in parishes near Riga. In 1631 he became professor of history at the grammar school at Dorpat (Tartu), in Livonia, and continued in a similar position when the grammar school became a university in 1632.²⁵ Menius's two marriages played an important role in his life. In 1617 he married his first wife, who left him (or he her) in 1621 or 1623.²⁶ In 1625 he married again without first securing a divorce. When Menius was involved in some private dispute in 1637, some of his enemies discovered his bigamy (his first wife apparently had died around 1630). Menius was forced to depart Dorpat hurriedly, and spent the rest of his life in several places, occupying different positions. He lived at first on the then Danish island of Oesel (Saaremaa) off the Livonian coast, then he moved to Sweden where he worked as a supervisor in a copper-mine; later he moved to Stockholm where he was imprisoned after having published a tract considered heretical.²⁷ He recanted after a year and was released. Hardly anything is known about the rest of his life which probably ended in 1659.

Menius's autobi bibliography was published in 1635 as an appendix to a book on the origins of the Livonians, printed at Dorpat.²⁸ Menius lists nine

²⁴ Gustaf Fredén, *Friedrich Menius und das Repertoire der englischen Komödianten in Deutschland* (Stockholm: P.A. Palmers Efr., 1939); Martin Ottow et. al., *Die evangelischen Prediger Livlands bis 1918* (Cologne & Vienna: Böhlau, 1977), p. 336; Gunnar Broberg, 'Menius, Friedrich,' in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 25 (Stockholm: Norstedts Tryckeri, 1985–87), pp. 410–412; Carola L. Gottzmann & Petra Hörner, *Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Baltikums und St. Petersburgs. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 2 (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 904–906; Stefan Donecker, 'Arbeiten und Projekte des Dorpater Professors Friedrich Menius in den 1630er Jahren,' *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 6 (2011), 31–60, here 32–37.

²⁵ From the second half of the sixteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century Livonia comprised what is now the northern half of Latvia and the southern half of Estonia.

²⁶ Tellingly, the male authors Ottow et al. place the blame on the wife, while the female authors Gottzmann & Hörner see the fault with the husband.

²⁷ Salomo Maius [Friedrich Menius], *Consensus Hermetico-Mosaicus Von dem wahren Anfange aller siechtigen vndt vnsiechtigen dingen* (n. pl.: n. pr., 1644).

²⁸ [Friedrich Menius], 'Catalogus Lucubrationum Friderici Menii,' in id., *Syntagma De Origine Livonor[vm]* (Dorpat: [Jacob Becker], 1632 [at the end 1635]), fols. G2r–G8v (pp. [99]–[112]); reprinted: id., 'Syntagma de origine Livonorum,' in *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*, vol. 2 (Riga & Leipzig: Eduard Frantzen, 1848), pp. 511–542. 1635 is the actual year of the original publication. Kristi Viiding (Tartu) was so kind to point out the existence of this list. A manuscript copy (Uppsala, University Library, Ms. Nordin 1997) of Menius's autobi bibliography is edited in Johan Nordström, 'Friedrich Menius. En äventyrlig dorpatprofessor och hans glömda insats i det engelska komödiantdramats historia,' *Samlaren*, N. S. 2 (1921), 42–91, here 86–91. Some additions to the autobi bibliography can be

books as having appeared in print.²⁹ Additionally, he lists many more as forthcoming: 21 octavos, 13 quartos and 12 folios; thus 46 books in all.³⁰ He gives long titles for the forthcoming volumes and indicates details of their proposed features and layout. Many of them were planned to be published with copperplates and in bi- or trilingual editions (one even in five languages). The fact that Menius had to evacuate Dorpat two years later in great hurry and without his library can serve as an explanation for why none of the 46 books seem to have been printed. Another explanation advanced by scholars is that this list of forthcoming titles tells more about Menius's boastful character than about his actual work.³¹ This is particularly so when we consider the fact that his purse could never have afforded the grandiose editions which he proposed. Perhaps, indeed, his autobibliography was also intended to attract the attention of would-be wealthy patrons.

Let us instead concentrate on the books presented as published. In listing them, Menius indicates the title in its original language, the place of publication, the publisher or the printer, the year of publication and the format; this is an unusually large amount of information for this type of list. The first three titles were published in Leipzig by Gottfried Grosse, but no. 2 (and probably also no. 3) were printed at Altenburg (in this case the printer is not mentioned). No. 4 is a Riga imprint of Gerhard Schröder, while nos. 5 to [9] were published by Jacob Becker at Dorpat.

VD17 does not know much about Menius. He is characterised as an "Estonian historian in Dorpat" (*Estn. Historiker in Dorpat*), which is, frankly, astonishing. Menius was no Estonian. For Germans the adjective *estländisch* is used rather than *estnisch*. Dorpat, however, was not part of Estonia, but of Livonia, therefore a German from Dorpat should be termed *livländisch*. That VD17 only has very vague ideas about Livonia can also be derived from the number of books by Menius it registers. There is only one title, but two different editions of it: *Historischer Prodromus des Liefpländischen Rechtens vnd Regiments* of 1632 (Menius himself does not mention that there exist two different editions of this title). VD17 can, however, be excused in not listing nos. [8] and [9], since they were written

found in Frideric[us] Meni[us], 'Warhafter eigentlicher Bericht Von denn Liefpländischen Historischen Wercken, welche ich endsbenanter von Anno 1621, bis 1636 vnter handen gehabt' [dated Stockholm, 9 April 1646], in Uppsala, University Library, Ms. Palmsk. 353, pp. 337–354.

²⁹ The number 6 appears twice. Therefore Menius's numbering ends with 8.

³⁰ For details of the forthcoming books, cf. Donecker, 'Arbeiten'.

³¹ Donecker, 'Arbeiten', pp. 31f., 43.

in Latin and published at Dorpat. *VD17* only catalogues Latin titles when printed inside the core German language area, while German-language titles are considered regardless of the place of publication. The case of Menius is a good example to show how fruitless this delimitation is. The readers of Menius's Latin books were presumably exactly the same as those of his German books printed at Dorpat, namely learned Germans and Swedes connected to the local university, while printing in Livonia done in Estonian and Latvian would be produced for the use of German pastors in Estonian and Latvian parishes.³²

Of the 9 titles mentioned in Menius's autobibliography, 7 should be found in *VD17* under his name according to the database's own criteria, but only one is present. This does not, however, indicate that the other titles have not been preserved. The bibliography of Dorpat imprints lists all 5 books published at Dorpat (two in Latin), but in addition also two Dorpat imprints which Menius did not mention, possibly because they were not of a scholarly nature. One is a song issued on the occasion of Gustavus Adolphus's death and is extant; the other is a song celebrating the foundation of Dorpat University, of which no copy appears extant.³³ A further title relevant to *VD17* in Menius's list, a Riga imprint of 1630 in German, is catalogued in the Estonian retrospective national bibliography.³⁴ Comparing the titles given by Menius with those of the preserved copies, one has to attest Menius a considerable degree of meticulousness.

VD17 does, in fact, list one more title from Menius's autobibliography; a very early German translation of English comedies published in 1620. In *VD17*, however, the translation is not attributed to Menius, nor are his indications of the place of printing and the publisher used, even though the Swedish scholar Johan Nordström made the attribution clear in a 1921 article.³⁵

Paul Felgenhauer (1649 and 1655)

In the eighteenth century, when the Royal Library in Copenhagen catalogued its holdings of books by the Bohemian prophet Paul Felgenhauer,

³² Beyer, 'How complete', pp. 59–64, 72.

³³ Ene-Lille Jaanson, *Tartu Ülikooli trükikoda 1632–1710. Ajalugu ja trükiste bibliograafia* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, 2000), nos. 4, 5, 35–38, 70, 89.

³⁴ <http://tallinn.ester.ee>: Friedrich Menius, *Intrada und Vortrab, Der grossen Universal Lieffländischen Historischer Geschichten Beschreibung* (Riga: Gerhardus Schröder, 1630).

³⁵ Cf. "Englische Comœdien 2. Theil. Altenburg / in Verlegung Godfrid Grossen Buchhändlers zu Leipzig. Anno 1620. in 8." to "Engelische Comedien und Tragedien ... [S.l.], 1620" (*VD17* 39:120191N). Nordström, 'Friedrich Menius'.

the learned librarians placed his works among the writings of little known fanatics (“Scripta Fanaticorum fama inferiorum”).³⁶ Felgenhauer has, indeed, received comparatively little scholarly attention, and an eighteenth-century scholar’s characterisation of him as a “homo Polygraphus ... sed Paradoxophilus, & insignis in Theologia novator” would remain the typical approach until recently, when the value of studying figures like Felgenhauer in the various contemporary contexts from which they emerged was made clear.³⁷

Felgenhauer was born in 1593 in Puschwitz (Buškovice) in northwest Bohemia (50 km from the birthplace of Brusch).³⁸ After studying theology at the University of Wittenberg, in 1617 he experienced a vision of the archangel Gabriel who imparted to him a secret wisdom from the Holy Spirit. Following this experience, Felgenhauer believed that he was empowered to interpret scripture infallibly. After issuing two works of biblical chronology in 1620, Felgenhauer became a fervent supporter of the Protestant cause in Bohemia following the defeat of Frederick V at White Mountain in 1621, and began to prophesy a millennium of peace for Bohemia which would dawn in 1623, an expectation he later revised for 1625. Simultaneously, he also entered into a polemical debate with the Lutheran theologian in Mecklenburg, Georg Rost, accusing the institutional Lutheran church of abandoning true Christianity and siding with Babylon. When his prophecies failed to be fulfilled, Felgenhauer abandoned political prophecy, and, over several decades, began to unfold a complex theosophical and millenarian theology, incorporating a unique blend of Lutheran, Calvinist and Gnostic principles, beginning with his *Aurora Sapientiae* (1628).³⁹ From then on, he rejected the “criminal

³⁶ Among the better known fanatics one would find, for instance, the Anabaptists and the Quakers (Copenhagen, Royal Library: *Foreign Section. Systematic catalogue*, vol. 91, pp. 131–150, 83–104).

³⁷ *Catalogus bibliothecae theologiae systematico-criticus, In quo, Libri Theologici In Bibliotheca Reimanniana Extantes ... enumerantur* (Hildesheim: Ludolphus Schröder, 1731), p. 775.

³⁸ For what follows see Leigh T.I. Penman, ‘A seventeenth-century prophet confronts his failures. Paul Felgenhauer’s *Speculum Poenitentiae*, *Buß Spiegel* (1625),’ in *Angels of Light? Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Clare Copeland (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 169–200; id., ‘Prophecy, alchemy and strategies of dissident communication. A 1630 letter from the Bohemian chiliast Paul Felgenhauer to the Leipzig physician Arnold Kerner,’ *Acta Comeniana* 23/24 (2011), 115–132; also Ernst-Georg Wolters, ‘Paul Felgenhauers Leben und Wirken,’ *Jahrbuch für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 54 (1956), 63–84, & 55 (1957), 54–93; Johannes Göhler, *Wege des Glaubens. Beiträge zu einer Kirchengeschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser* (Stade 2006), pp. 217–235; Josef Volf, ‘Pavel Felgenhauer a jeho náboženské názory,’ *Časopis Musea Království Českého* 86 (1912), 93–116.

³⁹ See Penman, ‘A seventeenth-century prophet confronts his failures’.

arrogance" which defined his earlier life. He lived thereafter in Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Bederkesa, near Bremen. During his lifetime he composed around ninety works, many of which remained unprinted, while nearly all that were published appeared pseudonymously or anonymously. He died in Bremen in 1661.

During the course of his life, Felgenhauer printed two separate autobiographies, which included a list of not only his printed works, but also works that he had completed and were waiting to come to the presses, and indeed, a list of minor alchemical and religious pieces which he never intended to print. The first of Felgenhauer's autobibliographies appeared in a small work printed by Hans Fabel in Amsterdam in 1649.⁴⁰ As with most other autobibliographies, it appears at the conclusion of the text, but in this case the list was also mentioned on the title page: "Plus an index of this author's printed and unprinted works". Strangely, however, the author's name was not mentioned anywhere in the entire book. Felgenhauer published another autobibliography a few years later, in his *Postilion* (1655), again as an appendix to a book, albeit this time without mentioning the fact on the title page.⁴¹ This list was also printed in a contemporary English translation.⁴² This translation, which rendered all the titles of Felgenhauer's works into English, must surely be the most useless bibliography of the entire seventeenth century! As all titles indicated as published in 1649 appear in the same order in the 1655 version, we shall consider here only the later version, even more so since a 1710 reprint of the *Postilion* reprinted the autobibliography unchanged.⁴³

The bibliographical information provided by Felgenhauer in his list is sparse. Titles are shortened, and sometimes vary significantly from those

⁴⁰ [Paul Felgenhauer], 'Index oder Verzeichnus. Was für Tractatus vnd Schriften des Autoris im offenen Truck außgegangen sind / vnd was für Schriften noch vngetruckt seyn,' in [id.], *Harmonia Sapientiae, In Libro aperto. Einigkeit der Weißheit oder Offenes Büchlein ... Hierbey ein Index, waß für Bücher des Autoris im Truck außgangen / vnd waßerley annoch vorhanden* (Amsterdam: Hans Fabel, 1649), pp. [58–64]. Contrary to popular scholarly opinion, Hans Fabel was not a mere false imprint, but was in fact a printer and publisher from Wetzlar active in Amsterdam between 1646 and 1650. On him see Leigh T.I. Penman, 'A Heterodox Publishing Enterprise of the Thirty Years' War. The Amsterdam Office of Hans Fabel (1616–after 1650)' (forthcoming).

⁴¹ [Paul Felgenhauer], *Postilion Oder Newer Calender Vnd Prognosticon Astrologicum Propheticum* (n. pl.: n. pr., 1655), fols. G9r–G11v.

⁴² Paul Felgenhauer, *Postilion. Or a new almanacke and astrologicke, propheticall, prognostication. Calculated for the whole world ... now translated into English, in the year 1655* (London: Printed by M.S. for H. Crips & Lodo. Lloyd, 1655), pp. 51–54.

⁴³ Paul Felgenhauer, *Postilion Oder Neuer Calender / Und Prognosticon Astrologicum Propheticum ... Nebst Des Auctoris Lebens=Lauff* (n. pl.: n. pr., 1710), pp. [131–133].

under which his works were printed, and consequently under which they appear in modern bibliographies.⁴⁴ Following the title, Felgenhauer adds only the year(s) of publication. In several cases these dates, when compared to extant editions, appear incorrect. Such discrepancies might well be evidence of lost editions or printings, but might equally testify to Felgenhauer's faulty recollection.⁴⁵ Of the 22 titles listed by Felgenhauer in 1655 as already printed, four are not present in *VD17*, even though they are extant in some European libraries.⁴⁶ An additional title is indeed included in *VD17*, but is not attributed to Felgenhauer.⁴⁷ Here, the autobiography is useful as an indication of authorship.

While Felgenhauer's autobibliography therefore records a number of works lacking in *VD17*, the database does, on the other hand, contain twelve titles which Felgenhauer deliberately omitted from his list. Three of these are, however, not attributed to Felgenhauer in *VD17*.⁴⁸ All these

⁴⁴ See for example Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock. Zweite, verbesserte und wesentlich vermehrte Auflage des Bibliographischen Handbuchs der Barockliteratur*, vol. 2 [Hiersemanns bibliographische Handbücher 9, II] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1990), pp. 1457–1477.

⁴⁵ That these errors could be attributed to faulty printing is allayed by a 1657 manuscript version of Felgenhauer's autobibliography, which shall not be considered here. See Hanover, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Cal. Br. 23 Nr. 654, fols. 158r f.

⁴⁶ Felgenhauer, *Das Büchlein Adam* (1636, Dünnhaupt no. 19); *Apologia Christiania* ([1637], Dünnhaupt no. 20); *TaufSpiegel* (1651, Dünnhaupt no. 26); *Examen Das ist Christliche Verantwortung* (1653, Dünnhaupt no. 30).

⁴⁷ [Felgenhauer], *Perspicillum Bellicum* (1652) (VD17 23:280101A, Dünnhaupt no. 29).

⁴⁸ [Felgenhauer], *Decisio Prophetica Belli Bohemici* (1620, VD17 14:052958Z; 1:069268B, Dünnhaupt no. 3.I); [Felgenhauer], *Leo Rugiens in Decisionis Prophetica belli Bohemici* (1622–23, VD17 39:125407N, 39:125411Y, Dünnhaupt no. 3.II–3.III); [Felgenhauer], *Flos Propheticus In quo adaperitur Testimonium de Veritate Jesu Christi, In Leone Silentij & Rugiente* (1622, VD17 39:125405X; 23:289484F, Dünnhaupt no. 5); [Felgenhauer], *Bon'avis Newe Avisen / Welche der Postilion deß grossen Löwens im Walde empfangen von einer Jungfrauen* (1622, VD17 39:125900M; 14:003211V, Dünnhaupt no. 4.I); [Felgenhauer], *Complement Bon'avisorum Special Neue Avisen* (1622, VD17 3:602644T; 23:333688G, Dünnhaupt no. 4.II); [Felgenhauer], *Apologeticus contra invectivas æruginosas Rostij* (1622, VD17 1:072855C, Dünnhaupt no. 7); [Felgenhauer], *Disexamen vel Examen Examinis, Seu Responsio Modesta* (1623, VD17 23:247140M, Dünnhaupt no. 9); [Felgenhauer], *Alerm-Posaun / Welche der Postilion des grossen Löwens vom Geschlecht Juda in einem Gesicht im Traum hat hören blasen* (1624, VD17 23:333504U; 14:003616E, Dünnhaupt no. 8); [Felgenhauer], *Flos Propheticus In quo adaperitur Testimonium de Veritate Jesu Christi, In Leone Silentii & Rugiente* (1625, VD17 7:675511F, not in Dünnhaupt); [Felgenhauer], *Tvba Visitationis, Detonans & denotans nobis Omnibus hoc Anno Horam Tentationis* (1625, VD17 23:238184U, not in Dünnhaupt); [Felgenhauer], *Calendarium Nouum-Propheticum, Jubileum Super Annum jamdum Nouum verè Novvm incipientem M. DC. XXV* (1625, VD17 23:238183M, not in Dünnhaupt); [Felgenhauer], *Leo Septentrionalis Consideratus & denotatus, in Speculo Mirabilium Leonis de Tribu Juda, Tempore hoc Nouissimo creatorum* (1625, VD 17 23:238185B, not in Dünnhaupt). Several of these titles, particularly the earliest pamphlets, were issued in more than one edition during the same year.

omitted titles were published in or before 1625, and represent works reflecting Felgenhauer's millenarian hopes for that year, which he subsequently abandoned, knowledge of the existence of which he later attempted to suppress. Felgenhauer's list also does not mention either any translations of his works into Dutch, two of which are known from the years 1622 and 1624, and which are indeed not mentioned in any list of his works.⁴⁹

Interestingly, however, the 1655 autobibliography omits at least one more publication, a small book printed in Emden in 1654 concerning the Lord's Supper.⁵⁰ It is also unmentioned in *VD17*. The omission in the case of Felgenhauer is something of a mystery, although it seems most likely that the book was in fact printed by one of his followers, perhaps without Felgenhauer's express imprimatur, despite the wording of the imprint ("Gedruckt vorn Autor zu Emden"). The omission on the part of *VD17*, on the other hand, can be explained by the fact that the only known copy is held by the Royal Library in Copenhagen, the contents of which are not included in this database.⁵¹

Friedrich Löwenstein (1655)

Friedrich Löwenstein was born in Mitau (Jelgava), Courland, in 1603. He studied at Rostock University. In 1629 he returned to his home town and

⁴⁹ [Felgenhauer], *Complement bon' avisorum. Speciale nieuwe avysen. D'welcke Postilion van den grooten leeuwe van den gheslachte Juda gesien heeft in zijne prophetische bloeme* ([Amsterdam?]: n. pr., 1622); [Felgenhauer], *Alarmsavyn. De welcke de Postilion des grooten leeuws uyt den gheslachte Juda, in een ghesichte in den droom heeft hooren blasen* (n. p.: n. pr., 1624). In 1664 and 1671, three Swedish translations of Felgenhauer's works were published in Amsterdam: *Perspicillum bellicum* (1664); *Probatorium theologicum* (1664); *Harmonia fidei et religionis* (1671) (Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*, vol. 1 (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1942–44), col. 259f.). Of these, Dünnhaupt, no. 29, mentions only *Perspicillum bellicum*. In addition to the *Postilion* (1655) an English translation of Felgenhauer's *Jehi Or* (originally printed 1640) was issued in London by William Cooper in 1671. Neither are included in Dünnhaupt.

⁵⁰ [Paul Felgenhauer], *Kurtze und Christliche Erinnerung vom Abendmahl deß Herrn* (Emden: Gedruckt vorn Autor zu Emden, 1654). Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, p. 1470, states that no extant copy of this tract (his no. 33) is known. This is somewhat strange since he indicates that he has seen the Copenhagen copy of the *Tauß Spiegel* himself (no. 26), which is bound immediately before this work.

⁵¹ It may be added that the resources of the Royal Library are not easy to tap. As the book is bound together with other titles, it will only show in the online catalogue as an appendix to the first title in the volume and can only be found when entering the abbreviated title "Kurtze Erinnerung vom Abendmahl des Herrn" and by spelling the author's name "Felgenhawer." According to the online catalogue, the book is written in Dutch (<http://rex.kb.dk>; accessed 31 August 2012)! As can be observed with many other

waited for a position as pastor to become vacant. Occasionally, he would preach if need arose. An opening finally occurred in 1630, though not in Mitau, but in far-away Pernau, a Livonian town bordering on the Baltic Sea. Löwenstein became pastor of the Estonian-language parish, but already three months later he was called to become the head pastor of the German-language parish in the same town. He occupied this position until his death in 1657.⁵²

Löwenstein's last book, a collection of sermons published in Lubeck in 1655, contains an appendix with an autobibliography listing 10 books.⁵³ Löwenstein gives the year of publication, the title in the original language and the place of printing. He does not mention the publisher, even if the book was published elsewhere, nor does he specify the format. His renderings of the titles are shortened. Indeed, occasionally, the titles in the list are more summaries of the books in question than shortened titles.

Löwenstein's list appears to be complete, that is, it contains all books published under his name.⁵⁴ He played no tricks by publishing anonymously or pseudonymously, as Felgenhauer did. After all, Löwenstein had nothing to hide. He was a middle-of-the-road churchman. Since he died two years after the publication of his list, he had little time to write more books.

Löwenstein's list contains mainly sermons and theological tracts, one of which is in Latin, but this book was, like many of the German ones, printed in Lubeck. All ten books are therefore eligible for inclusion in *VD17*. Only two titles from Löwenstein's list, however, can be found there (one, to be precise, in two slightly different editions). This is by no means caused by an extreme rarity of Löwenstein's books. They seem only to be rare in the libraries contributing to *VD17*. Extant copies of 7 of the 10 books can be traced, mostly in libraries outside Germany: in Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Latvia and, above all, in Estonia. There is even one library which

catalogue posts, some automated function seems to add language codes according to the official language used today in the place of publication.

⁵² Jürgen Beyer, 'Livländische Autoren und norddeutsche Buchdrucker im 17. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Autobibliographie des Pernauer Pastors Friedrich Löwenstein,' in *Die Baltischen Länder und Europa in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Norbert Angermann [Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, vol. ?] (Munster: Lit, forthcoming).

⁵³ [Friedrich Löwenstein], 'Verzeichniß Der Tractätlein / die ich unwürdig / bey wehrender Zeit meines Predigampts (nu ins 25. Jahr) zu offenen Druck herfürgegeben,' in id., *Encœnia Parnoviensia Pernausche Kirchweyhe Das ist: Fünff ... Predigten ... Bey und nach Inauguration und Einweyhung der newreparirten Kirchen zu S. Nicolai allhie gehalten* (Lubeck: Valentin Schmalhertzens Erben, 1655), fols. S7r–S8r.

⁵⁴ A commented edition of this autobibliography in Beyer, 'Livländische Autoren und norddeutsche Buchdrucker'.

owns all seven titles: the Academic Library in Reval (Tallinn). Most of the seven extant titles are preserved in several copies, one, printed in Lubeck in 1643, has six copies extant, but not a single one in *VD17*.⁵⁵ The three books which appear to be lost today are a funeral sermon (Riga, 1633), a collection of four sermons on the Lord's Supper (Lubeck, 1649) and a religious textbook (Dorpat, 1651).

August Pfeiffer (1691)

August Pfeiffer was born at Lauenburg in 1640. After attending grammar school in Hamburg, he studied at Wittenberg, where he was appointed professor of oriental languages in 1665. In 1671 he embarked on an ecclesiastical career, which led him through many positions in Saxony, including a theological professorship in Leipzig, to the post of superintendent in Lubeck in 1689. He died there in 1698.⁵⁶

Pfeiffer's autobibliography is appended to a book written against the heresy of chiliasm, published in Lubeck and printed at nearby Ratzeburg in 1691.⁵⁷ He lists 33 titles chronologically in the original languages (Latin and German), covering oriental studies, polemical and practical theology, mentioning in addition to the title the place of publication, year and format. When a book was printed more than once, he adds this information to the description, but his data are not always complete.

Pfeiffer omits from his list most university dissertations, sermons, and all occasional poetry, but some information on his list is absent in *VD17*.⁵⁸ Of one collection of sermon examples, for instance, *VD17* merely lists the second edition of 1683, while Pfeiffer mentions not only the first edition of 1681, but also some later ones.⁵⁹ One of the titles is rather difficult to trace in *VD17*. It turns out that in 1689 Pfeiffer wrote an introduction to an

⁵⁵ Fridericus Lowenstein [Friedrich Löwenstein], *Lieffländischer Bußwecker Der erste Theil. Theoria Poenitentiae* (Lubeck: Valentin Schmalhertz // [Friedrich Löwenstein], 1643).

⁵⁶ Moller, *Cimbria literata*, vol. 2, pp. 640f.; vol. 3, pp. 525–542; Adolf Schimmelpfennig, 'Pfeiffer, August', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 25 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1887), pp. 631f.

⁵⁷ [August Pfeiffer], 'Catalogus scriptorum meorum inde ab A. 1665, usque ad curretem 1691. editorum,' in id., *Antichiliasmus, oder Erzählung und Prüfung des betrieglichen Traums Derer so genannten Chiliasten* (Lubeck: Peter Böckmann, 1691), fols. Ff7r–Ff8v.

⁵⁸ Yet more publications by Pfeiffer lacking in *VD17* can be found in Moller, *Cimbria literata*, vol. 3, pp. 530–542, and further additions in the annotated copy of this work in Copenhagen (cf. n. 9).

⁵⁹ Cf. "Evangelische Erqvickstunden. Lipsiæ 8. A. 1681. item 83. 88. & c." (Pfeiffer, 'Catalogus', fol. Ff7v) to *VD17* 14:682749N and 23:302616G.

edition of Josua Stegmann's *Christognosia*, a book first published in 1630. Pfeiffer's contribution is mentioned on the title page, but can only be found in *VD17* when entering "Pfeifferus" (instead of "Pfeiffer").⁶⁰ This is a small but annoying breach of *VD17* rules, which makes the work almost inaccessible.

*Why Did These Authors Publish Autobiographies?
Some Reflections Bio-Bibliographical*

As the preceding sketch has demonstrated, autobiographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could vary greatly in their particulars, and are subsequently valuable for several different reasons and on several different levels, both as sources of bibliographical information, as well as granting some insight into the characters of the authors themselves. One universal question that must be asked of this material is why these authors composed autobiographies. Unlike many modern readers, they were not forced to do so by the exigencies of their employment contracts. Nor, it seems, were such lists particularly common during this period (although it is hoped and assumed that this article will bring others to light).

One question which must be initially addressed, however, given the physical characteristics of the majority of autobiographies sketched above, is whether or not some of these lists were composed merely in order to fill the empty pages of a signature at the conclusion of a volume, as was the case with many a publisher's stocklist.⁶¹ At first glance, this contention seems possible. Both the lists by Pfeiffer and Löwenstein, for example, occupy the final several pages of the last sheet of their respective volumes. However, Löwenstein's book was printed in Lubeck at the opposite side of the Baltic Sea, therefore informing the author about the available space would have caused a considerable delay in printing. As Löwenstein's autobiography is present in all four extant copies, we can exclude the possibility that the list was added later, after the author had noticed the empty space. Felgenhauer's lists, too, occupy the last pages of the final sheets of his books, but in one case (1649) he mentions the autobiography on the title page, indicating that the list was an integral part

⁶⁰ Cf. "Isagoge & Hodegus in Christognosiam D. Stegmanni. Lipsiæ 4. 1689" (Pfeiffer, 'Catalogus', fol. Ff8v) to *VD17* 39:130839A.

⁶¹ J.A. Gruys, 'Stocklists on spare pages: a neglected phenomenon,' *Quaerendo* 20 (1990), 310–326.

of the publication. Menius's autobibliography, on the other hand, starts on the final signature at fol. G2r and occupies the remainder of the octavo sheet. This could therefore have been a method of filling the surplus pages, but a much more cost-effective method would surely have been to simply rearrange the type of the last pages and have the book end on fol. F8v. It thus seems that, as in the other cases, the autobibliography was part of the original manuscript given to the printer who arranged for the entire text of the book to end on fol. G8v.⁶² The autobibliographies by Brusch and Praetorius—as well as several of those not discussed in detail here—occupy more than the otherwise empty final pages, which should exclude this option. We should therefore assume that most, if not all, autobibliographies considered here were intentionally published and integral parts of the manuscripts submitted to the printer.

Another possibility is that the lists were requested or required of the author by the publisher or bookseller as advertisements. An example of this are the lists to be found after 1622 in numerous editions of works by the Dutch pietist Willem Teellinck that were added by the publisher showing works of the author still in stock.⁶³ However, the autobibliographies produced in the German language area discussed in this essay do not appear to have been advertisements: they list books printed in different towns, and a number of them also include books probably out of print or still very far from being finished.⁶⁴

As such, the form, content and nature of the autobibliographies discussed here were presumably intended to be a vehicle of communication between the author and the reader, both personal and practical. More often than not, however, this context is not explicitly addressed. Menius, Felgenhauer and Löwenstein do not provide any explanation as to why they included autobibliographies in their books. Brusch's autobibliography, on the other hand, is preceded by a poem addressed to the Basle humanist Conrad Lycosthenes who, so the author claims, had asked him

⁶² There are two extant copies of this book, one in Riga and one in St Petersburg. In both the autobibliography concludes on fol. G8v, but in the Riga copy an "Exodium. Ad libelli hujus Patronum Illustriss." and a list of typographical errors fill an additional leaf.

⁶³ W.J. op 't Hof 'The oldest Dutch commercial *œuvre* lists in print,' *Quaerendo* 23 (1993), 265–290. We owe this reference to Fred van Lieburg (Amsterdam).

⁶⁴ An exception may be the autobibliography of Erasmus Francisci, which also includes mention of whether and from whom the individual works were still available. See for example Francisci, *Verzeichniß*, p. 6, where an early work is listed as "Jetzo zu finden / bey Wolfgang Moritz Endtern". We must note, however, that Francisci's book was printed at his own cost, and not at that of the printer. The list of Luther's works mentioned in n. 11 might, indeed, be an advertising tool.

for a list of his publications. Brusch duly compiled his list, as he informs readers at the end, while staying in Lycosthenes's house.⁶⁵ Similarly, Gesner addresses himself to the English scholar William Turner in order to fulfil this colleague's wish to be informed about the publications.⁶⁶ Also Pfeiffer refers to demands by several unnamed people to be provided with a list of his works—both printed, forthcoming and in preparation. He explains that he does not place any prestige at all upon his books, but if he can assist the endeavours of others by publishing a list, then he was prepared to do so. Pfeiffer shows admirable reserve, however, in listing only the books which have already been printed. Praetorius, likewise, employs a similar *Bescheidenheitstopos* before listing his compositions, as does Francisci. Francisci, furthermore, claims that some books had been wrongly published under his name, and he wants to rectify the mistake.⁶⁷ The same concern was already shared by Greek physician Galen in the second century, when he drew up what appears to be the very first autobibliography.⁶⁸

The same sense of modesty cannot be attributed to Felgenhauer, however. In his 1655 autobibliography, he not only supplies a list of twenty-two printed works, but also lists; i) eight tracts which had been handed to printers for printing; ii) seventeen which had been completed but not yet given to printers; iii) six controversial works (*Streit=Schriften*) which appear to have remained in manuscript; iv) three works which are identified as 'extant' (*vorhanden*), before finally adding; v) a list of four tracts which he would *like* to write in the future.⁶⁹ Clearly, the reader was supposed to be impressed with Felgenhauer's industry, and, in the case of the proposed works, perhaps even willing to dig deep in his or her pocket and support their publication. Similarly, Menius listed 46 books still to be published.

In terms of practicality, there is no denying that autobibliographies could be of great utility for readers, even if a patchwork book market and haphazard distribution practices meant that actually acquiring one of the

⁶⁵ On Lycosthenes, cf. Jürgen Beyer, 'Lycosthenes, Conrad', in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, vol. 8 (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994–96), coll. 1323–6; id., 'Lycosthenes, Conrad', in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 33 (Herzberg: Traugott Bautz, 2012), coll. 793–798. Lycosthenes, it might be pointed out here, was well versed in bibliography. He produced an abbreviated edition of Gesner's *Bibliotheca* in 1551.

⁶⁶ Cf. n. 3.

⁶⁷ Francisci, *Verzeichniß*, pp. 3–5.

⁶⁸ Breslauer & Folter, *Bibliography*, p. 22.

⁶⁹ Felgenhauer, *Postilion*, pp. 125–130.

books listed in the autobiographies may have been a difficult, if not often impossible, proposition. In the case of Brusch's autobiography, it certainly made sense for the author to produce this list. He had lived and published in many different places, and it would be impossible for interested readers to obtain an overview of his works without such a list. Löwenstein, on the other hand, spent all of his working life at Pernau, and prospective readers (learned men at Pernau and pastors in the surrounding countryside) could probably easily find out what he had published, even if by asking the author himself.

Of the works that appear in Felgenhauer's list, only two were printed under his name, the rest appeared pseudonymously or anonymously. This would certainly be a reason for providing potential readers (and thus potential adherents, and thereby patrons) with a list of your works, because they were not otherwise easily identifiable as works by the same person, being printed, as they were, under a variety of pseudonyms, formats, and being issued by printing houses in different cities. On the other hand, as Felgenhauer's books contained doctrines which were anything but orthodox Lutheran, it was risky to provide the authorities with a list of such dangerous works and to acknowledge authorship of them. It is perhaps for this reason why both his 1649 and 1655 autobiographies appeared in works issued anonymously.

Pfeiffer, on the other hand, had recently moved away from Saxony and her publishers to Lubeck. Publishing an autobiography there might have helped to make his works better known, and assisted in establishing his reputation in his new surroundings. Erasmus and Gesner were scholars of European fame, and there were, assumedly, enough readers willing to buy their autobiographies (which, we should remember, were published as separate volumes).⁷⁰ Similarly, Francisci was a very popular and extremely prolific author (issuing about 2000 printed pages a year), and his list might have been intended to help readers to follow, at least partly, along.⁷¹ Several scholars, not aware of other autobiographies, have assumed that Menius published his list simply in order to bring note to himself, and plumped it up by adding countless forthcoming titles, many of them as expensive, lavish, illustrated editions.⁷² There may be a grain of truth in this assumption, but the publication of an autobiography in

⁷⁰ Cf. n. 3 and 10.

⁷¹ Cf. n. 6.

⁷² Cf. Donecker, 'Arbeiten', pp. 31f., 43.

itself, as our other examples show, demonstrate that he does not deserve such condescending assessment.

There thus appears to have been a variety of different motivations concerning the composition and printing of autobibliographies, which vary greatly according to the circumstances, characters, and hopes of their authors. The overwhelming impression, however, is that, unlike in today's scholarly world, autobibliographies do not represent a mere clerical task, but that they were invested with particular meanings by their authors. Clearly, we must view these lists not only as bibliographical tools but also as a kind of shorthand intellectual autobiographies. They not only point readers to specific books, but also inform them about the character of the author, as well as the nature of early modern authorship. The number of books printed may indicate the industry of the author, works completed and ready for printing might alert readers to keep their eyes open for new works, and the number of proposed or forthcoming works might suggest their outgoing intellectual nature. Furthermore, as biographical documents, autobibliographies betray the interests and activities of the author at a certain point in his life. Like all autobiographical writings, the autobibliographies are prone to errors of memory, or indeed (in the cases of Felgenhauer and Pfeiffer) deliberate suppression or omission.

Autobibliographies differ greatly in their utility as bibliographical tools. Some lists are numbered, others are not. Some supply only a portion of the information considered standard today, while others provide useful details often currently omitted. Apart from this, autobibliographies can contribute significantly to bibliographical studies since they may list, firstly, titles of which no copy is known today, and secondly, clarify the attribution of titles published anonymously or pseudonymously.⁷³ It is surprising that scholars and librarians so far have made only very limited use of autobibliographies. *VD17*, certainly, would benefit from incorporating attributions based on autobibliographies.

This essay has attempted to shed light on three separate areas of inquiry. Firstly, it offers an initial sketch of some of the earliest known autobibliographies, their nature and their immediate contexts, geographical, authorial and otherwise, as a contribution to identifying the origin of what is today a very common scholarly practice. Secondly, it shows that the practice of making this kind of list was not a by-product of early-modern typesetting, or commerce, but a deliberate manoeuvre on the part of the

⁷³ Cf. also Groenendijk, 'Een catalogus van Hofmanniana', p. 82.

author, and therefore one that conveys potentially significant autobiographical content. Thirdly, it has pointed to the utility of autobibliographies as sources of (albeit occasionally unreliable) bibliographical data, which can enrich ground-breaking but incomplete modern bibliographical resources such as *VD16* and *VD17*.

Many more early modern autobibliographies, from different language groups and different cultures, are undoubtedly waiting to be discovered (or brought to the attention of the authors!), the investigation of which will significantly expand our knowledge of the origins and extent of the practice. Cataloguing projects, such as the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, will hopefully start to index autobibliographies and thus make them easier to trace.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ The authors wish to express their gratitude for the funding received from the target funded research project SF0180040808 at Tartu University Library and from grant 9178 of the Estonian Science Foundation.

PART THREE
SOCIAL GROUPS

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MARKET FOR BOOKS IN EARLY MODERN NORWAY: THE CASE OF JURIDICAL LITERATURE

Gina Dahl

As other chapters in this book also demonstrate, the study of the historical existence, distribution and ownership of books is not limited to consideration of the books themselves. Books naturally constitute invaluable sources in assessing the book culture of a given place at a given time.¹ But books have sometimes not survived their original context, which means that we only know of their existence by other means, for example, through various types of book list such as sales catalogues, auction catalogues and probate records containing inventories.

This chapter demonstrates one particular application of book lists, namely, the reconstruction of intellectual history through book titles listed in one distinct type of historical record—an eighteenth-century auction catalogue. This undertaking is particularly useful in the early modern Norwegian cultural context, as few testimonies for this relatively scattered learned culture have survived. For instance, few physical book collections that would provide important, albeit indirect, access to the world of knowledge of intellectuals have been preserved. Filling such lacuna, the study of book lists can provide pivotal information that allows historians to chart book ownership, and thus intellectual life, in early modern Norway.² That book collections can map intellectual trends will be shown here on the example of legal works belonging to Lauritz Lund.

¹ For a summary of the different ways in which the relationship between books and their geography can be interpreted, see Miles Ogborn and Charles W.J. Withers, "Introduction" in *Geographies of the Book*, ed. Ogborn and Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 1–25.

² The mapping of intellectual worlds through book occurrences has been conducted in the broader international arena for decades, a particularly well-known case in point being Robert Darnton's *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1995). I have undertaken substantial book mapping for Norway in *Book Collections of Clerics in Norway, 1650–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) and *Books in Early Modern Norway* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). A substantial presentation of the book culture of the early modern Norwegian laity was provided by Jostein Fet in 1995; see Jostein Fet, *Lesande bønder. Litterær kultur i norske allmugesamfunn før 1840* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1995).

But before assessing the world of jurisprudence through the lens of book titles, it is useful to consider the political situation in early modern Norway, which formed an essential context for intellectual currents and these book lists.

The Political Situation and Its Repercussions for the Book Trade

In the absence of physical book collections, lists of books provide one means of accessing intellectual life. The significance of these lists in Norway is enhanced by their political context. During the early modern period, Norway was part of the twin monarchy Denmark-Norway. The Treaty of Kalmar of 1397 had established a political union of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Sweden broke away from the union in 1523, but Denmark-Norway remained an independent entity until its dissolution in 1814, in the wake of the Napoleonic wars. Power was unequally distributed within the union: all administrative centres were situated in Denmark, where the king also resided; Copenhagen became the capital of Norway. Norway's own nobility died out, and only a few noblemen of Danish ancestry settled in Norway. None of the institutions of higher education were based in Norway. Norway's first university, *Det Kongelige Frederiks Universitet* (now the University of Oslo), was established only in the early nineteenth century. Before this time, the only institutions of higher learning on Norwegian soil were the Latin schools. Similarly, the official language of the twin monarchy was Danish. As a result existing circles of educated people, or intellectuals, expanded at a relatively modest pace during the early modern period, many of them being governmental officials offering various types of services to the state. Partly as a result of the lack of institutions of higher education, we also have only sporadic testimonies of the world of learning shared by intellectuals. For instance, the extensive correspondence between intellectuals that occurred elsewhere simply did not exist in Norway.³

This structural inequality was not a product of chance: keeping all seats of higher learning and the central administration close to those in power, and more specifically to the king in Copenhagen, was a highly strategic move designed to consolidate power, to make disobedience very difficult

³ For an outline of culture in early modern Norway, consult Nils Gilje and Tarald Rasmussen, *Tankeliv i den lutherske stat 1537–1814* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2002), Ole Georg Moseng et al., *Norsk historie 1537–1814* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2003), and Sølvi Sogner, *Krig og fred 1660–1780* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2005).

and not least, to streamline intellectual life. Important in this final respect was official religion: Lutheranism was introduced to the twin monarchy by a stroke of the pen in 1536, and moulding the subjects' piety into this new faith whilst fighting the threat of heresy from within as well as from abroad became a preoccupation of the government.

The religious-political impetuses of the day also affected early modern book policy: printing was closely supervised, structured and restricted. As a result, there were very few printers in early modern Norway. The first printing office was established in 1643 in Christiania, the main administrative centre, which was close to Copenhagen. The second was in Bergen, Norway's largest town at the time, which acquired its first printing office in the early eighteenth century. And the number of presses did not increase greatly: even by 1800 there were only four printing presses operating in Norway. The number of printers expanded significantly only in the nineteenth century, when the political union with Denmark was finally broken.⁴

Those with a craving for books were not, however, dependent solely on those few printers: various bookbinders and booksellers, stationary or mobile, operated in early modern Norway, and their numbers surpassed the modest number of printers. Bookbinders, who also sold books, served the Norwegian population from the sixteenth century onwards. As printers were too few in number to be able to meet the general demand for books, booksellers did not primarily offer books produced within the borders of what was then Norway. Instead, books circulating in Norway were mainly imported from abroad, many of them originating in Copenhagen, where most of the printers of the twin monarchy resided. Locating the presses in Copenhagen was a tactical move: printers kept close to those in power could be supervised. In general, these printers were not to publish anything adverse about the established church, the country's administration or the royal family. In order to control the book trade further, privileges and monopolies were issued, and harsh penalties were meted out to those in breach of the book-market regulations.⁵

⁴ An introduction to the book trade in early modern Norway is provided by Harald L. Tveterås, *Den norske bokhandels historie* (Oslo: Norsk bokhandler-medhjelperforening, 1950). A survey of printers in early modern Norway is offered by Gunnar Jacobsen, *Norske boktrykkere og trykkerier gjennom fire århundrer 1640–1940* (Oslo: Den norske boktrykkerforening, 1983).

⁵ Details of early modern official book policy are given in Charlotte Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark* (København: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2001) as well as in Øystein Rian, "Sensuren i Danmark-Norge 1536–1814" in *Demokratisk teori og historisk praksis*, ed. Hilde Sandvik (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2010), pp. 123–160.

Despite the low number of printers and the relatively tight surveillance of the domestic book market, intellectuals in Norway were still able to acquire books, and in a variety of ways. Many of their books were purchased from the above-mentioned bookbinders and booksellers. Those with a certain income and status could also acquire books in other ways, such as through travel (personally or via family or friends travelling abroad) or by ordering books directly from sellers, binders and printers abroad. The second-hand market, where both specialist and non-specialist books could be picked up, was also significant. As a result, the market for books in early modern Norway followed international trends. The lower classes amassed and read a substantial corpus of religious texts together with more entertaining material; professionals such as lawyers, clerics and members of the bourgeoisie, more generally, a group that expanded in the eighteenth century, were also able to follow European trends, albeit with a certain time lag compared to centres such as London, Paris and various Italian and German cities.

The market for books among the learned, however, had a distinctive character formed under the influence of the official religion and as a result of the geographical location of the twin monarchy and, in particular, its overseas trade routes. Many books that found their way to early modern Norway were acquired in Copenhagen, but they came also from Lutheran Germany, and in particular Leipzig and Frankfurt, which is hardly surprising given the close connections between northern European Lutheran lands and the large book fairs regularly held in these two cities. Still, other countries were also important in terms of book acquisition, namely the Netherlands, England and, in the late eighteenth century, France, all countries with bustling trade. The book markets that opened up through such trade were important to the growing number of intellectuals in early modern Norway.

Books and Book Lists

As shown above, a scarcity of printers does not necessarily mean a scarcity of books. Accounting for these books, however, remains complex. Unlike for many other countries, the mapping of books in early modern Norway cannot be conducted through a general study of printers, as they were not the principal providers of books to the general public. Instead, much of the book trade happened through export and import, but the relevant documentation is patchy and has yet to be fully examined.

The world of books in early modern Norway, therefore, is accessed primarily through occurrences of books themselves, or rather through various lists that enumerate books, as only a very limited number of libraries have survived. Various explanations for the lack of libraries and collections can be advanced. First, there were not many highly educated people in early modern Norway to assemble such libraries, at least not prior to the mid-seventeenth century. Secondly, the very material nature of books may account for the low number preserved, for many books, and even entire collections, would have become no longer fit for purpose, or have been considered obsolete, and may therefore have been thrown away. Thirdly, natural disasters surely destroyed numerous books and book collections: Bergen, for instance, has suffered a series of devastating fires through the centuries, with the fire of 1702 destroying almost the entire town.

For these reasons, book lists are a principal means of getting closer to the intellectual world of early modern Norway. What types of book lists have survived to document the world of knowledge in this corner of Northern Europe? The records of the books that people possessed, read or circulated are varied in nature. Sometimes such information is found in diaries, in the margins of books and on paper notes; lists kept by lending libraries and reading societies tell of books available at a specific location and date. Such testimonies are fragmentary and irregular for Norway. Few such diary notes, for instance, remain from the early modern period, and official lending libraries were a rather limited phenomenon in the eighteenth-century.⁶ Information about book culture can be gleaned, however, from additional records, both printed and handwritten. The latter consist mainly of probate records containing inventories and auction records in which books sometimes appear. Printed lists mainly take the form of sales catalogues and auction catalogues.

Not all such lists have survived. Although handwritten probate records from various parts of Norway, both rural and urban, have been preserved, they usually date only from the late seventeenth century onwards, and for some areas start at a much later date.⁷ Handwritten auction records also usually date from the late seventeenth century at the earliest, and unlike probate records, they come primarily from an urban context. As for the printed sales and auction catalogues, these remain mostly an eighteenth century, and particularly late eighteenth century, phenomenon.

⁶ See Lis Byberg, "Brukte bøker til bymann og bonde. Bokauksjonen i den norske literære offentlighet 1750–1815" (Dr. Art. diss., University of Oslo, 2007), pp. 94–99.

⁷ See Dahl, *Book Collections of Clerics in Norway*, p. 26.

Eighteenth-century printed sales catalogues, of which there are few, were generally issued by printers on behalf of non-mobile booksellers. The printed auction catalogues are more numerous; a good number, somewhere between 100 and 150, have survived from eighteenth-century Norway.⁸ Compared with certain other European countries this number may seem very low, but when we bear in mind the limited number of printers issuing such catalogues and the small size of the country's population—around 1800 Norway had a population of only some 880,000—the number is rather significant. These auction catalogues must be set against a particular geographical backdrop, as the majority were printed in Trondheim, the city that presumably hosted the most prosperous book market of eighteenth-century Norway.

Such lists, while welcome, are not without their limitations as source material for mapping the prevalence of books and thus intellectual trends. Firstly, lists are often incomplete in that they do not necessarily record *all* the titles in a given collection. Many books from that collection might, for instance, have been given away or sold off before the collection was catalogued. Secondly, many records have been damaged and cannot be read in full and many of the handwritten sources are incomplete. Thirdly, the resemblance between the listed title and the original work may have been only limited, which means that the entry may be indicative of the existence of a book, rather than an accurate indication of that book's nature and content. Fourthly, titles and/or authors are sometimes listed so vaguely that it is impossible to identify a specific edition, and a substantial number of records cannot be used to reconstruct the world of ancient books. Even with these shortcomings, however, eighteenth-century book lists can still be useful for tracing the intellectual climate, as is demonstrated by the juridical literature listed in the catalogue of books belonging to the cleric Lauritz Lund.

Lauritz Lund and His Book Collection

Lauritz Lund was born in Denmark in 1717, and after completing his clerical education he became the vicar of the hospital church in Trondheim, a

⁸ A fresh and large-scale study of late-eighteenth century auction catalogues and the auction system itself is provided by Lis Byberg, "Brukte bøker til bymann og bonde". A major survey of the evolution of the auction in Denmark is found in Harald Ilsøe, *Biblioteker til salgs: om danske bogauktioner og kataloger 1661–1811* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek—Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2007).

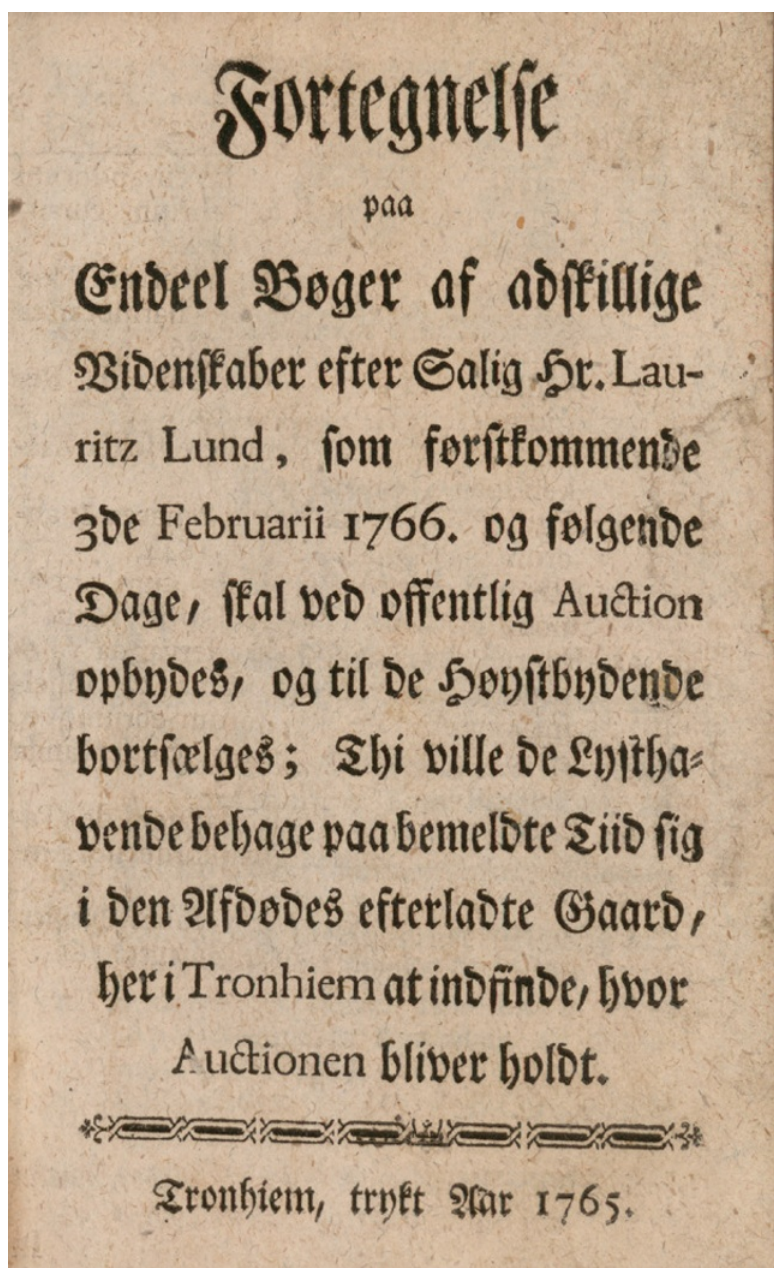


Illustration 8.1. Frontispiece of the auction catalogue of the collection of Lauritz Lund (3 February 1766); NBO, NA/A 5359. NBO: The National Library.

town situated on the coast of north-western Norway. Later he was also appointed chaplain to the Church of Our Lady in Trondheim, where he served from 1747 until his death in June 1765.⁹ The following year, on 3 February 1766, Lund's book collection was auctioned off. The printed catalogue suggests Lund was a bibliophile for it includes 2,302 volumes.¹⁰ This number should not be seen as absolute: in many instances, several works are bound together, which means that the total number of works is higher than the number of works enumerated.¹¹

The size of Lund's collection is rather remarkable, as few clerics at the time possessed book collections on this scale.¹² Not only does this astonishing number of books suggest that Lund must have been profoundly interested in books, but he must also have had the financial means to purchase them. For most clerics the acquisition of such a large number of books would have been financially impossible. Lund's income may have been drawn from several sources. He was the only son of a Danish merchant, Hans Lauritzen Lund, and his book-buying ability was probably enhanced by his inheritance. Also, Lauritz married a woman of some wealth. His wife, Ellen Magdalena Tønder, came from a family of high rank. Ellen's father, Niels Ebbesen Tønder, was parson at the same church as her husband, and her grandfather, Ebbe Carstensen, originally from Flensburg, was a wealthy merchant.¹³ Ellen may therefore have brought a certain amount of money into the marriage. The high number of old books registered in the auction catalogue may be an indication that many of the books in Lund's collection had been inherited, although it is also possible that he had purchased them himself on the second-hand market, where books could circulate for many years.

A variety of reasons may explain the decision to auction off of Lund's book collection. The auction may have been held to raise money for the

⁹ This genealogical data is retrieved from; <http://www.oesten.net/getperson.php?personID=17755&tree=1>, accessed 22 September 2011, and Andreas Erlandsen, *Biographiske efterretninger om den Nordenfeldske Geistlighed* (Christiania: Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, 1844–55), p. 77.

¹⁰ See *Fortegnelse paa Endeel Bøger af adskillige Videnskaber efter salig Hr. Lauritz Lund: som førstkommande 3de Februarii 1766 og følgende dage, skal ved offentlig Auction opbydes, og til de Høystbydende bortsælges; Thi ville de Lysthavende behage på bemeldte Tiid sig i den Afdødes efterladte Gaard, her i Tronhiem at indfinde, hvor Auctionen bliver holdt, trykket i Trondheim*. NBO, NA/A 5359. NBO: The National Library, Oslo.

¹¹ The library is mentioned in passing by Harald Nissen, "Skjebnen til noen av 1700-tallsbibliotekene i Trondheim" in *Til Opplysning. Universitetsbiblioteket i Trondheim 1768–1993*, ed. Harald Nissen and Monica Aase (Trondheim: Tapir, 1993), pp. 99–130; at pp. 113–114.

¹² See Dahl, *Book Collections of Clerics in Norway*.

¹³ See Erlandsen, *Biographiske efterretninger*, pp. 68–69.

collector's widow and underage children, the most common reason for book auctions to be held in Norway. Lauritz and Ellen had twelve children, of whom only five appear to have been still living at the time of Lauritz' death; the youngest of these five children had been born only a couple of weeks before he died.¹⁴ And as the couple's children were still young, whether they would need the collection at some point in the future would have been unclear. Specialised book collections were often auctioned off if thought to be of little use to those left behind. If his widow planned to remarry, her assets would need to be valued.

As for the physical catalogue itself, it was printed in octavo, the standard size for printed auction catalogues in Norway, and contained 203 pages. The catalogue was printed in Trondheim, the city in which Lund had lived. As noted above, most catalogues of this type originated in Trondheim, which points to the fact that the city had a well-functioning auction system, including an efficient printing press. Trondheim was a very cosmopolitan town: its Royal Society of Science was established in the late eighteenth century and its book market was prosperous, largely as a result of the town's involvement in lively overseas trade. Lund, therefore, had had a vibrant book market at hand as he amassed his library.

The auction itself was held in the house of the deceased, also a common practice for auctions in Norway. In Lauritz's case, there may also have been pragmatic grounds for holding the auction in his home: the number of books put up for auction was relatively high and moving them to another location may have been considered too time-consuming. The books were perhaps also already neatly shelved by subject order, which would have facilitated their auctioning-off. In terms of classification, the books in the catalogue were listed according to subject matter in sections such as 'Libri Theologici', 'Libri Juridici', 'Libri Philosophica & Mathematica', and within each section books were arranged by size, that is, in folio, in quarto, in octavo, and so forth.

Unsurprisingly, the majority of Lund's books covered theology. Like many contemporary learned individuals and in line with the polyhistorical trends of the period, Lund also possessed books on physics, history (including *historia literaria*), philology, philosophy and mathematics, and jurisprudence. Lund's juridical works were not very numerous and represent one of the smaller categories, with only one work in folio, forty-four in quarto, and twenty-one in octavo, for sixty-six works in total. Several works

¹⁴ According to the genealogical data given in Erlandsen, it seems as if only three of the couple's children reached adulthood.

were bound together, however, and were sometimes filed as one item in the list (see for instance number eight in quarto in the attached book list, where four works are apparently bound together), which indicates that the total number of juridical works in Lund's collection was slightly higher than sixty-six.

The World of Jurisprudence

Before Lund's collection of juridical works is assessed, a few words should be said about legal thinking within the Northern European, and also Danish-Norwegian, tradition. During the early modern period, the legal field was divided into several areas. The legal core in the twin monarchy was formed by a range of Danish and Norwegian law codes. A common law had been established for Norway by King Magnus the Law-Mender (Lagabøte) as early as the 1270s; this national law code had replaced earlier regional law codes such as Eidsivating and Gulating. The legal code of Magnus the Law-Mender was superseded by Christian IV's Norwegian Law in 1604, although that law code was largely based on Magnus the Law-Mender's earlier version.¹⁵ A national law code for Denmark was first issued in 1683, when Christian V's Danish Law was published. This code replaced former regional codes such as those of Jutland, Zealand and Scania (Skåne in today's Sweden). In 1687 this *tour de force* was followed by Christian V's Norwegian Law. In addition to these major law codes, a range of other juridical writings related to the codes was issued, such as decrees and recesses as well as registers of laws and decrees.

Juridical thinking also turned to the Roman law corpus *Corpus juris civilis*, originally issued between 529 and 534 under Emperor Justinian. This corpus, understood as a universal reflection of ever-abiding natural law, became the foundation of medieval legal thinking throughout Europe, and in Denmark-Norway, Roman law was given renewed attention under the influence of Philipp Melanchthon's educational ideals, which also proved important to the wider university curriculum. Roman law provided a corrective for testing whether Danish and Mosaic Law were in accordance with general, innate judicial principles.¹⁶ The study of Roman law

¹⁵ Dahl, *Books in Early Modern Norway*, p. 138.

¹⁶ Ditlev Tamm and Ejvind Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet* (Copenhagen: Gad, 2005), pp. 26–32.

would also give students formal training that would help them codify or practise local (non-Roman) laws.¹⁷ The *Corpus juris civilis* consisted of four parts: part one, the *Institutes* (*Institutiones*), is an introduction to Roman law, while part two, the *Digest* (*Digesta*, or *Pandectae*), contains extracts from ancient jurors; part three, the *Code* (*Codex*), is a collection of imperial decrees, while part four, the *Novels* (*Novellae*), contains later additions.

Particularly after the Reformation, Roman law came to be seen as instructive for Danish law and therefore was lectured upon at the University of Copenhagen, the sole university in the twin monarchy. The lectures consisted mainly of a general introduction to Roman law based on the *Institutes*, but they also addressed canonical law, and in particular matrimonial laws.¹⁸ Some Copenhagen professors compared Danish law with Roman law in their writings, an example being Henrik Weghorst (died 1722), originally German, who was also inspired by Hugo Grotius. Several German books describing how Roman law could be applied in German law also received significant attention at the university: Georg Adam Struve's *Jurisprudentia romano-germanica forensic* (1670) was, for example, issued in several editions and nicknamed *kleiner Struve*.¹⁹ Writings on the application of Roman law in German law by Samuel Stryk (died 1719) were also adopted into the curriculum, in particular his commentary *Usus modernus pandectarum*.²⁰

A re-evaluation of the classical concept of natural law was central to legal thinking in the early modern period. At the forefront in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in particular was the idea that natural law should be based on certain rights or values that were universally recognisable by virtue of human reason. Reason should therefore be used to analyse human nature and deduce binding rules of moral behaviour, rules that were given legal weight. How this natural law should be understood was debated, but a common thread ran through all positions, arguing that as rational beings, men were created to live together in a civilised way.²¹ Due to the close connections between the German intellectual sphere and

¹⁷ See, for instance, Olaf Pedersen, "Tradition and Innovation" in *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Hilde Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 455.

¹⁸ Tamm and Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet*, pp. 25–36.

¹⁹ Tamm and Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet*, pp. 90–91.

²⁰ Tamm and Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet*, pp. 90–91.

²¹ See Ditlev Tamm, *Dansk retshistorie* (Copenhagen: Jurist- og Økonomforbundet, 1996), pp. 188–189.

the twin monarchy, certain German, but also other Northern European figures, played a prominent role in the spread of specific theories of natural law: the German jurist Samuel Pufendorf (died 1694), for example, whose theories of natural law could be found in his *De jure naturae et gentium* (1672) and his *De officio hominis et civis* (1673); Hugo Grotius (died 1645), the Dutch jurist famous for his *Mare Liberum* (1609) and his *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625); and the German jurist Christian Thomasius (died 1728). We must also stress the role played by Christian Wolff (died 1754), renowned philosopher at Marburg and Halle, whose numerous works addressed philosophy, ethics and mathematics and promoted his theories of natural law. Wolff's *Jus naturae* and *Jus gentium* in particular, published in the 1740s, became highly influential in the legal sphere. Wolff established legal principles according to a deductive, Descartes-inspired system of interpretation, which meant that concrete legal rules were deduced from specific axioms or premises thought of as universal.

Law as taught at the University of Copenhagen was strongly inspired by the legal philosophy of Pufendorf, Grotius, Thomasius and Wolff and by the late seventeenth century, professors of law at Copenhagen were already lecturing on principles of natural law instead of focusing primarily on Roman law. A significant role in this development was played by professor and polymath Ludvig Holberg, who published his *Moralske Kierne, eller Introduction til Naturens og Folke-Rettens Kundskab* in 1716; this work would go through six editions between 1716 and 1763.²² This legal text was highly indebted to the theories of Samuel Pufendorf and, to a lesser and indirect extent, of Thomas Hobbes, and was later translated into Swedish and German. However, the first professors to base their lectures on Grotius and Pufendorf were Henrik Weghorst and Christian Reitzer; Weghorst would encourage Holberg to write his Danish-language introduction to natural law.²³ The first Danish professor of natural law was Andreas Hojer (died 1739), whose Thomasius-inspired work *Diagramma de nuptiis propinquorum* from 1719 was severely criticised for claiming that marriage between closely related individuals was not contrary to natural law. From an educational point of view, therefore, the focus shifted from Roman law to natural law.

²² See for instance Jørn Øyrehaugen Sunde, "‘Fornuft og Erfarenhed.’ Framveksten av metodisk medvit i dansk-norsk rett på 1700-talet" (Dr. Art. diss., University of Bergen, 2006), p. 144.

²³ Tamm and Slottved, *Det rets- og statsvidenskabelige fakultet*, p. 59.

Lund's Juridical World

In many ways, Lund's collection is reflective of contemporary legal discourse.²⁴ About twenty of the entries on the listing of his books, almost a third of the total number of juridical books, indicate domestic law corpuses, decrees and registers of the decrees. This emphasis suggests that juridical interest focused in particular on the domestic law codes that formed the core of legal practice and were to be examined and enhanced.

Several major law corpuses were included in Lund's collection, such as Christian V's Norwegian law (entry 2 in quarto) and Christian V's Danish law (entries 3 and 30 in quarto); the latter was also registered in manuscript form (entry 29 in quarto), which suggests that manuscripts were deemed to be of a status equal to that of books. Also included were Christian IV's Norwegian Law (entry 16 in quarto) and a range of decrees. Several legal works compiled before Christian V's unifying of Danish law were part of Lund's collection. For instance, several older legal works were assembled under entry 25 in quarto, including the Jutland law code of 1643. A Swedish law code was included in the collection (entry 5 in quarto), as was typical of many collections of legal works of this period. Contemporary learned collections also often contained various works on German law: in Lund's collection this interest is evident in the listing of *Lybechs Statuta und Stadt-Recht* (entry 7 in quarto) from 1657. Among the various types of commentary literature included were some of the period's bestsellers, namely, Christen Ostensen Weile's *Glossarium* from 1652 (see entry 9 in quarto), an explanation of terms in older domestic law corpuses, as well as Otto Bull's register of Danish and Norwegian laws and decrees (see entry 42 in quarto).²⁵

The selection of legal works in Lund's collection is indicative of the declining interest in Roman law, as it included few books of this type. The list did contain a *Corpus juris civilis* annotated by Dionysius Gottfried (or Gothofred, died 1629), a professor of law at Strasbourg (see entries 13 a and b in quarto). Under entry 12 in quarto, works by two authors who wrote commentaries on Roman law were apparently bound together, commentaries to the *Pandects* by Johann Jacob Wissenbach, appointed professor of

²⁴ A wider examination of juridical works in late-eighteenth century Norwegian book collections can be found in Gina Dahl, "Holbergs naturrett i et bokhistorisk perspektiv" in *Ludvig Holberg og naturretten*, ed. Eiliv Vinje and Jørgen Sejersted (Oslo: Gyldendal 2012), pp. 199–214. A comparison with that study suggests that Lund's collection of legal works was typical of the period.

²⁵ See Dahl, "Holbergs naturrett i et bokhistorisk perspektiv".

law at Franecker in 1643, and *De mandatis principum* by Carl Emmanuel Vizzanius (died 1661), a Jesuit and philosopher at Bologna. Other authors writing on Roman law include Michael Virdung (died 1637), who was appointed professor of history, rhetoric and, later, also political science at Altdorf (entry 27 in quarto). His work was apparently bound together with *De jure imperii germanici* by Anton Coler (died 1657), who eventually became the vice chancellor and president of the government in Ratzeburg. Another author listed in the collection was Johann Christoph Nehring, a late-seventeenth century court lawyer in Gotha who had studied under Georg Adam Struve (see entry 18 in octavo).

While Roman law is little represented, Lund's collection contained numerous works on natural law, although it should be noted that at that time several authors (including some of those listed in the catalogue) wrote on both natural law and Roman law. There were several well-known texts on natural law in Lund's collection, including Samuel Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium* (entry 1 in quarto)—the version listed was an annotated edition by Johannes Nicolas Hertz (or Herittius, died 1710), who had been professor of law at Strasbourg. The list also contains Hugo Grotius's famous work *De jure belli ac pacis* (entry 5 in octavo) as well as a commentary on that work written by Simon van Leeuwen (died 1682), a celebrated Dutch lawyer (see entry 10 in octavo). Christian Thomasius was also included with one work, *Institutiones jurisprudentiae divinae* (entry 11 in quarto), as was Christian Wolff with his *Institutiones juris naturae & gentium*, reportedly printed in Halle in 1750 (see entry 13 in octavo), which was an abridged version of his *Jus naturae* and *Jus gentium*. Lund therefore appears to have had all the most important continental authors writing on natural law ready at hand.

Many of the Danish-Norwegian authors included in Lund's collection also wrote in the natural law tradition. Ludvig Holberg's previously mentioned introduction to natural law, *Introduction til Naturens og Folke-Rettens Kundskab*, largely a translation of Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium*, was included (entry 2 in octavo). The above-mentioned Copenhagen professor Henrik Weghorst and the first Danish professor of natural law, Andreas Hojer, were also included: Weghorst was listed with his *Compendium juris feudalis* (entry 15 in quarto) and Hojer with his manual for students of law, *Forestilling paa en dansk Jurist*, from 1737 (entry 6 in octavo). There were several other celebrated figures also writing on natural law in the list, such as the Montesquieu-inspired Copenhagen professor Peder Kofod Ancher (died 1788) with his *Dissertatio inauguralis de successione parentum primi gradus* (see entry 22 in quarto). Finally, the

catalogue included the jurist and governmental official Henrik Stampe (died 1789), who was influenced by Wolff during his studies in Marburg. Lund's collection featured one of Stampe's dissertations (see entry 24 in quarto).

Overall, Lund's collection appears to reflect the general climate of legal discourse in the twin monarchy in that it speaks of the importance of domestic law codes, decrees and recesses, and of commentaries on these works by Danish-Norwegian authors, but also suggests a general decline in books or treatises covering Roman law. The favouring of early modern authors writing on natural law reflects a broader Northern European tendency.

Conclusions

Book lists are multifunctional. As historical sources, they can be used in a variety of ways. In this chapter I have pointed to one specific use of book lists, namely, in documenting intellectual history. In a Norwegian setting, such lists are highly important testimonies of the knowledge of earlier times, as few physical book collections from the early modern period have been preserved. Evidence of the book trade itself is also scarce, although a cluster of sources documenting intellectual life is available for the eighteenth century, when more books by Norwegians were published, for example. The juridical books in the possession of Trondheim cleric Lauritz Lund are indicative of the intellectual world to which he belonged. His collection mirrors the legal trends of the time, namely the importance of domestic law codes and literature associated with the legal field and the gradual decline of Roman law in favour of early modern natural law, a shift that took place in Norway later than in other European countries.

Catalogue

Fortegnelse paa Endeel Bøger af adskillige Videnskaber efter Salig Hr Lauritz Lund, som forstkommende 3de Februarii 1766 og følgende Dage, skal ved offentlig Auction opbydes, og til de Høystbudende bortsælges; Thi ville de Lysthavende behage paa bemeldte Tiid sig i den Afdødes efterladte Gaard, her i Tronhiem at indfinde, hvor Auctionen bliver holdt. Tronhiem, trykt Aar 1765. Lund, Laurtiz, 1765 (NBO, NA/A 5359), Oslo: The National Library, 203p.

*Juridica**In Folio*

1. Biörn Bertelsen Biörns (i.e. Biörn Bertelsen Biørnsen) om Arve-Linjerne udi den Danske og Norske Lov. 1743.

In Quarto

1. Samuelis Pufendorphii (i.e. Samuel Pufendorf) De jure naturæ & gentium. Libri 8. cum annotates Hertii (i.e. Johannes Nicolas Hertz).
2. Christiani 5ti Norske Lov.
3. Regis Christiani 5ti leges Danicæ in Latinum conversæ a Petro Hoyelsino (i.e. Peder Høyelse).
4. Foundation og Stiftelse for det Kongelige Universitet i Kiøbenhavn 1732 den 31te Martii.
5. Sweriges Rikes Lag gillad och antigen paa Riksdagen Aahr 1734.
6. Jacob Friderich Ludovici (i.e. Jacob Friedrich Ludovici) 1) Einleitung zum Civil Process. 2) Einleitung zum Wechsel Process. 3) Zum Concurs Process. 4) Zum Veinlichen Process.
7. Lybechs Statuta und Stadt-Recht. 1657. Disertatio de jure in re sub præsidio Glæseri (i.e. Enoch Gläser). Fritzii (i.e. Anton Gunther Fritz) tractatus de Electione Romani Regis &c. 1663. Discursus Juridicus de decoctoribus, præside Gerderio (i.e. Friedrich Gerdes). 1666.
8. Magna Horologii Campana durch einen wohlmeinenden treuen Deutschen Patrioten 1628 den 20de Janu. 2) Mathiæ Helmreich (i.e. Matthias Helmreich) Bericht vom Geitz und Wucher. 1625. 3) Hansischer Wecher 1629. 4) Der vereinigten Teutschen Hanse-Statt kurtze nothwendige Verantwortung, samt Protestation &c. 1609.
9. Christen Ostersen Weyles (i.e. Weile) Glossarium Juridicum Danico-Norvegicum. 1665. Ejusdem Tractatus over alle Faldsmaal og Bøder. 1652.
10. Leges Academicæ a Studiosis in Regia Fredericiana observandæ.
11. Christiani Thomasi Institutiones juris prudentiæ divinæ.
12. Johannis Jac. Wissenbuchi (i.e. Johann Jacob Wissenbach) & Antecessoris Frisii Exercitationes sive Commentarii in Pandectarum libros. Partes duæ. Frank. (i.e. Franecker) 1661. 2) Caroli Emmanuelis Vizzanii (i.e. Carl Emmanuel Vizzanius) de mandatis Principum, sev

- de officio eorum qvi in provincias cum imperio mittuntur. Amst. (i.e. Amsterdam) 1658.
13. Codex Justiniani Commentarius Dionysii Gothofredi (i.e. Dionysius Gottfried) illustratus. 2) Novellæ Institutiones Justiniani commentariis ejusdem illustratæ. Genevæ (i.e. Geneva) 1583.
 14. Told-Rullen. Kiøbenh. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1710.
 15. Henrici Weghorstii (i.e. Henrik Weghorst) Compenium Juris Fevdalis in universitate Hafniensi diversis Disputationibus Examinatum. Hafn. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1694.
 16. Christiani 4ti Norske Lov. 2) Cantzler Bielkes (i.e. Jens Bjelke) Forklaring over Juridiske Ord. 3) Forklaring over Norske Lovs Arveta. 4) Den Norske Kirke-Ordinantz. 1657.
 17. Doct. Hedegaards (i.e. Christian Ditlev Hedegaard) Trifolium Juridicium. 1748. 1) Overstemmelse i den Danske Lov. 2) imellem GUDs og Kongens Lov. 3) En Samling af gamle Danske Ordsprog.
 18. Bernhardi Möllmanni (i.e. Bernhard Møllmann) Procesus Judiciarii Danici Norvegici Specimen. 1742.
 19. Petri Wartberg (i.e. Petrus Wartberg) Annotationes ad Legis Christianeæ Lib. V. Cap. XIV. de jure Cambiali. 1740.
 20. Jani Lassen (i.e. Jens Lassen) Heroicum Phinehæ facinus ad stateram juris naturalis examinatum 1706.
 21. Joh. Henricus Becher (i.e. Johannes Heinrich Becker) de eo, qvotum est circa amicitiam, invidiam & calumnias. Hafn. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1640.
 22. Petri Kofod Ancher (i.e. Peder Kofod Ancher) Diss. inauguralis de successione Parentum primi gradus. Hafn. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1742.
 23. Jacobus Höyer (i.e. Jacob Høyer), qvid de pacto Gibeonitico & qvidem de dolo, imprimis atqve juramento in eodem occurrente sentiendu. 1737.
 24. Henrici Stampe (i.e. Henrik Stampe) Dissertatio de Testamentis. Hafn. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1740.
 25. Jydske Lovbog 1643. Hvorudi fines: 1) Valdemari Secundi Lov. 2) Christiani 3tii Recess. 3) Friderici 2di Haandfestning. 4) Friderici 2di Recess. 5) Friderici 2di Gaards-Ret. 6) Friderici 2di Søe-Ret. 7) Friderici 2di 25. Religions Article. 8) Friderici 2di aabne Breve. 9) Christiani 4ti Recess. 10) Ejusdem Rigens Ret. 11) Ejusdem Birkens Ret. 12) Ejusdem aabne Brev, samt 13) et General-Register.
 26. Francisci Irenii (i.e. Franz Friedlieb) Collegium Juris publici Imperii Romano Germanici. 1670.

27. Michaelis Virdungi (i.e. Michael Virdung) *Orationes duæ de causis Caritatis annonæ, de ejus mali Remediis* 1624. 2) Antonii Colerii (i.e. Anton Coler) *de jure Imperii Germanici* 1613. 3) *Justitia Imperialis circa Rannum contra Comitem Palatinum & circa Executionem contra Captivos. Pragenses* (i.e. Prague) 1622.
28. *Den rette Judske Lovbog*. Kiøbh. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1590.
29. *Christiani 5ti Danske Lovbog paa Skriv-Papiir*.
30. *Christiani 5ti Jus Danicum Latine redditum a Henrico Weghost* (i.e. Henrik Weghorst). Hafn (i.e. Copenhagen) 1698.
31. *Christiani Reitzeri* (i.e. Christian Reitzer) *Positiones ex jure divino universali*. Hafn. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1702. 2) *Weghorstii* (i.e. Henrik Weghorst) *de differentis juris Danici & Romani*. Disput. 3tia Hafn. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1704.
32. *Rechts-Sprache nach denen Kays. Pabstl. Sachsichen, Osterreichischen und Marchischen Constitutionibus abgefasst*. Franckf. und Leipzig (Frankfurt and Leipzig) 1698.
33. *Christiani 4ti Recess og Forordninger*.
34. *Hans Bergs Samling af alle de Forordninger, Placater og Rescripter, som angaaer Geistligheden i Danmark*. Aalborg 1761.
35. *Christiani 5ti Forordninger tillige med hans for Lovens Publication*.
36. *Friderici 4ti Forordninger fra 1699 til 1718*.
37. *Friderici 4ti Forordninger fra 1719 til 1730*.
38. 39. *Christiani 6ti Forordninger fra 1730 til 1746*.
40. 41. *Friderici 5ti Forordninger fra 1746 til 1762*.
42. *Otto Jacobsön Bulls* (i.e. Otto Bull) *Register over Danske og Norske Lov og Forordninger &c. med Continuation*.
43. *Christiani 6ti Told-Rulle*.
44. *Christiani 4ti Forordninger*.

In Octavo

1. *Schultheis* (i.e. Philipp Adam Schultheis) *Rechtliches Bedencken De jure belli pro fæderatis contra fæderatos*. 1738.
2. *Ludovici Holbergs* (i.e. Ludvig Holberg) *Naturens og Folke-Rettens Kundskab*. Edit. 4ta 1751.
3. *Ritualet*.
4. *Christiani 5ti Krigs-Rets Instruction*. 1715.
5. *Hugonis Grotii* (i.e. Hugo Grotius) *de jure belli & pacis libri tres*. Editio nona. Amstel. (i.e. Amsterdam) 1651.

6. Andreæ Höyers (i.e. Andreas Hojer) *Forestilling paa en Dansk Jurist*. 1737.
7. Friderici 4ti Krigs-Artikels Brev og Krigs-Rets Instruction.
8. Kofod Anchers (i.e. Peder Kofod Ancher) *Anviisning i sær for en Dansk Jurist om Lovkundigheds og Staats-Kunstens Deelee, Nytt og Hielpe-Mider*. Kiøbenh. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1755.
9. Christiani 5ti Articuls Brief und Krigs-Gerichts Instruction. Christianiæ (i.e. Christiania) 1783.
10. Notarius Publicus door Symon van Leeuwen (i.e. Simon van Leeuwen) in duyts vertat door Hugo de Groot (i.e. Hugo Grotius). 1657.
11. Johannis Loccinii (i.e. Johannes Loccenius) *Synopsis juris publici & private Regni Sveciæ*. Gothoburgi (i.e. Gothenburg) 1683.
12. Snedorph (i.e. Jens Sneedorff) *om den borgerlige Regiering*. Kiøbenh. (i.e. Copenhagen) 1757.
13. Christiani Wolfii (i.e. Christian Wolff) *Institutiones Juris naturæ & gentium*. Halæ (i.e. Halle) 1750.
14. Lorentz Evensens *Juridiske Afhandling om Meddoms-Mænd i Odels og Aaverkes Sager*. Tronhiem (i.e. Trondheim) 1760.
15. Christiani 5ti Norske Lov, oplagt paa nye ved Caspar Peter Rothe in Duod.
16. Luxdorphii (i.e. Bolle Willum Luxdorph) *Register over Forordningerne, henførte til visse Classer og Tituler*.
17. Lorentz Evensens *afhandling om Odel i Norge*.
18. Joh. Christoph. Nehrings *Manuale Juridico politicum diversorum terminorum, vocabularum &c.*
19. Caspar Peter Rothers (i.e. Rothe) *samling af Kongelige Rescripter*. 1754.
20. *Fundation til en Civil Enke-Cassa i Danmark og Norge*. 1740.
21. M. Döderleins (i.e. Michael Sundt Døderlein) *Undersøgning om hvorvidt Odels-Retten i Norge er gavnlig eller skadelig for det almindelige Beste*.

CHAPTER NINE

THE BOOK INVENTORIES OF SERVITE AUTHORS AND THE SURVEY OF THE ROMAN CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX IN COUNTER-REFORMATION ITALY

Flavia Bruni

From Instrument of Censorship to Bibliographical Resource

"Inventorying titles, categorising works, and attributing texts were all operations that made it possible to set the world of the written word in order." With these words, Roger Chartier opened his essay on *The Order of Books*, talking of an "immense effort motivated by anxiety".¹ The book lists sent to Rome at the end of the sixteenth century as part of a survey undertaken by the Roman Congregation of the Index support Chartier's assertion. In this case, the anxiety was concrete. Fear of the spread of the Reformation had developed into fear of the printed word, and indexes of forbidden books appeared across Europe.²

At the end of the sixteenth century, after the publication of many local and three Roman indexes, the Catholic authorities were not just troubled by the presence and circulation of forbidden texts; they were also determined that when necessary, books should be corrected. In order to draw up an *Index Expurgatorius* to indicate which books had to be corrected and how, they asked the main local religious authorities, that is bishops and inquisitors, to send to Rome reports about suspect books owned by those under their jurisdiction. Their request met with opposition,

¹ R. Chartier, *The Order of Books. Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994) p. vii. I am grateful to Odir J. Dias, Shanti Graheli, Andrea Ottone, Andrew Pettegree, Roberto Rusconi and Malcolm Walsby for reading and commenting on successive drafts of this chapter.

² On the connection between printed books and the Reformation, see A. Pettegree & M. Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration' *The Historical Journal*, 47 (2004) 785–808, pp. 785–786. There is a great deal of literature on the indexes of forbidden books. See J.M. De Bujanda (ed.), *Index des livres interdits* (Geneva: Droz, 1984–2002); V. Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice. La censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2006); G. Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

especially from the regular orders who were not willing to tolerate interference by the secular clergy or by the Inquisition that might prejudice their independence and privileges. After many delays and extensions, the regular orders eventually obtained the right to manage the investigation of their own libraries.

This policy created a survey, or census, of the books owned by religious orders in Italy.³ Taken between 1596 and 1603, this snapshot of Italian religious collections constitutes what Romeo De Maio has designated “the biggest national bibliography of the Counter-Reformation”.⁴ So far it has been possible to identify 61 manuscripts of this survey in the Vatican Library, one in the Archive for the Congregation of the Faith, one in the Archives Nationales in Paris and one in the General Archive of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin in Rome.⁵ The book lists vary considerably: some contain only a few items whilst others have thousands of entries. In approximately 19,000 handwritten pages, they report on more than 9,500 libraries and between 800,000 and 1,000,000 items for 31 religious orders.⁶

This documentation is remarkable in many respects and provides a very considerable amount of data for historians. The records are an invaluable source for bibliographers in particular. Though the accuracy of the information is not consistent across the corpus, depending notably on geographical and cultural contexts, it would be very hard to find other

³ R.M. Borraccini & R. Rusconi (eds), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Macerata 30 maggio—1 giugno 2006)* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006). There has been much debate about the nature and completeness of the survey. Gigliola Fragnito has argued that one must exert considerable caution when considering these lists (G. Fragnito, 'L'Indice clementino e le biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi' in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, 37–59, pp. 52–53), although this does not prevent us from using them: G. Granata, 'I libri dei canonici secolari di S. Giorgio in Alga nella documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice' in E. Barbieri & F. Gallo (eds), *«Clastrum et armarium». Studi su alcune biblioteche ecclesiastiche italiane tra Medioevo ed Età moderna* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2010) 185–254, pp. 186–187.

⁴ R. De Maio, 'I modelli culturali della Controriforma. Le biblioteche dei conventi italiani alla fine del Cinquecento' in R. De Maio (ed.), *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento* (Naples: Guida, 1992) 355–370, p. 363.

⁵ Vatican Library, collection Vatican Latin (hereafter: VL) 11266–11326; Vatican, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, *Index*, Serie XXII; Paris, Archives Nationales, LL 1563, ff. 51–64r and Rome, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Frati Minori Cappuccini, AB 214. It is hoped that more will yet be found (Fragnito, 'L'Indice clementino e le biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi', p. 55).

⁶ R. Rusconi, 'Le biblioteche degli ordini religiosi in Italia intorno all'anno 1600 attraverso l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice' in E. Barbieri & D. Zardin (eds), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura nell'Italia del Cinque e Seicento* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2002) 63–84, p. 65.

contemporary inventories that match the quality of the bibliographic description of these lists.

Initially the Congregation of the Index requested lists of banned texts.⁷ The first book lists sent to Rome were only useful, however, in that they demonstrated the lack of clarity over what was forbidden. The size and complexity of successive and sometimes contradictory indexes meant that by the end of the sixteenth century the rules about censorship were confused. The flourishing of authoritative Indexes all around Europe—such as those promulgated by the Sorbonne, as well as in Spain and Rome—seemed to indicate that they, too, should be taken into consideration.⁸ Books might be designed suspicious for reasons that are sometimes hard to understand.⁹ In one case, for instance, a book was included in the list simply because it had been printed in the fifteenth century.¹⁰ Doubts and uncertainties were sometimes made explicit in marginal annotations such as ‘dubium’, ‘observatio’ or even ‘An in isto libro est predictus dialogus [...] in Indice prohibitus?’¹¹

Once in Rome, those book lists are likely to have generated some doubt about their compilers’ ability to identify forbidden books.¹² Moreover, many of the inventories included only laconic indications of author and title, making it impossible to identify the edition. Wider criteria were required for inclusion in the inventories, along with stricter criteria for the

⁷ On the two stages of the process see Fragnito, ‘L’Indice clementino e le biblioteche degli Ordini religiosi’, pp. 37–50.

⁸ On censorship as the result of the application of different, and often unclear or conflicting, rules, see R. Savelli, ‘Il libro giuridico tra mercato, censure e contraffazioni. Su alcune vicende cinque-seicentesche’ in R. Braccia, R. Ferrante et al. (eds), *Itinerari in comune. Ricerche di storia del diritto per Vito Piergiovanni* (Milan: Giuffrè, 2011) 187–305, pp. 187–215.

⁹ See also S. Seidel Menchi, ‘Sette modi di censurare Erasmo’ in U. Rozzo (ed.), *La censura libraria nell’Europa del secolo XVI. Convegno internazionale di studi (Cividale del Friuli 9–10 novembre 1995)* (Udine: Forum, 1997) 177–206, p. 193: ‘È ben rappresentata nelle biblioteche italiane una categoria di interventi censori alquanto fantasiosi, e non riconducibili a nessun tipo di normativa ufficiale’.

¹⁰ ‘Queste le scriuo in quanto sono più di 100 anni che sono stampate, ma non sono nell’Indice’: VL 1286, f. 156r: cited in my ‘Una *inquisitio* nel convento servita di Lucca: i libri nella cella di fra Lorenzo’ in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, 473–523, p. 494.

¹¹ R. Laudadio, ‘La provincia dei frati Minori dell’Osservanza di Trinacria e i suoi libri alla fine del Cinquecento’ *Franciscana*, 7 (2005) 209–299, pp. 234–244, *Segnalazione dei libri “sospetti”*. See also R. Rusconi, ‘“O scritti a mano”: i libri manoscritti tra inquisizione e descrizione’ in R.M. Borraccini (ed.), *Dalla notitia librorum degli inventari agli esemplari: saggi di indagine su libri e biblioteche dai codici Vaticani latini 1266–1326* (Macerata: Edizioni Università di Macerata, 2009) 1–26, p. 2.

¹² See my ‘Una *inquisitio* nel convento servita di Lucca’, pp. 493–495.

description of the books. The Roman authorities asked the religious orders to list all the books, not just forbidden works, held in monasteries and cloisters or personally owned by monks or friars. The Congregation of the Index insisted that each entry must not only contain the author's name and the title of the work, but also indicate the language, place of printing, printers and year of publication.¹³ Such detailed bibliographic description was essential for the identification of forbidden editions as a work could be censored on account of its author, content, commentator, translator, editor or printer.

The result was a series of inventories, with entries arranged in alphabetical order and including a surprisingly high level of description.¹⁴ These accurate bibliographic descriptions allow us to do what the Congregation of the Index probably never did: we can identify editions owned by monks, friars and, in a few cases, nuns, the secular clergy or even lay people.¹⁵

The nature of the survey meant that each inventory could record any type of book, even works that were generally omitted from other early modern book lists. As a consequence, we have an accurate record of the contents of a specific type of library at a specific date. Italian religious libraries contained not only theological, philosophical and some classical works, but also many books intended for everyday use, like missals, books of hours and devotional texts. These latter books were often used until they were no longer serviceable and typically have a poor rate of survival. Most of them are now very rare—if they are to be found at all.¹⁶ In addition, after the dissolution of religious orders in the nineteenth century, religious books were often thought to be of little value or use and were

¹³ M. Dykmans, 'Les bibliothèques des religieux d'Italie en l'an 1600' *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 24 (1986) 385–404, p. 392.

¹⁴ The alphabetical order was approximate: R. Rusconi, 'I libri dei religiosi nell'Italia di fine '500' *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 72 (2004) 19–40, p. 21 and my «*Erano di molti libri proibiti*»: frate Lorenzo Lucchesi e la censura libraria a Lucca alla fine del Cinquecento (Rome: Marianum, 2009), p. 19, note 65.

¹⁵ On libraries of nuns see C. Compare, 'Inventari di biblioteche monastiche femminili alla fine del XVI secolo' *Genesis. Rivista della Società Italiana delle Storiche*, 2/2 (2003) 220–232 and 'Libri di donne e libri di monache alla fine del XVI secolo' in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, 583–622; on books of lay people see S. Così, 'I libri dei "sudditi": Mercogliano, feudo di Montevergine', in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, 623–657 and A. Ottone, 'I libri dei notai nelle liste dei "sudditi"', in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, 659–704. On books of the secular clergy see Andrea Ottone's article in this volume.

¹⁶ A. Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. xiv–xv.

discarded. These inventories are thus a precious resource for the identification of lost books.¹⁷

The Author As Book Owner

I have selected a sample of six inventories to discuss here. All six are from the same manuscript, VL 11321, which contains a number of book lists for Servite cloisters as well as some for individual Servite friars.¹⁸ These inventories describe the books held by a number of prominent Servite authors: Lelio and Antonio Zanobi Baglioni, Arcangelo Giani, Angelo Maria Montorsoli and Gregorio Alasia.¹⁹

The longest list covers 550 books in the possession of Lelio and Antonio Zanobi Baglioni,²⁰ to which must be added a small collection that Lelio Baglioni kept in Pisa.²¹

Lelio Baglioni was born in Florence in 1550 and entered the Servite order in 1559. As a theologian and controversialist, he was very active in sixteenth-century religious debate and published a variety of theological texts.²² He taught metaphysics in the *Studium* of Pisa and played an

¹⁷ G. Zappella, 'Alla ricerca del libro perduto: supplemento "virtuale" agli annali della tipografia napoletana del Cinquecento' in V. De Gregorio (ed.), *Bibliologia e critica dantesca. Saggi dedicati a Enzo Esposito. 1: Saggi bibliologici* (Ravenna: Longo, 1997) 243–293, in particular pp. 243–244, note 2.

¹⁸ Paper manuscript by different hands; 538 ff. I am preparing a full edition and description of the whole manuscript. Until then see R. Rusconi, 'Le biblioteche dell'Ordine dei Servi alla fine del XVI secolo' *Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, 54 (2005) 155–163. The inventories are available on-line in the *Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice* (<<http://ebusiness.taiprora.it/bib/index.asp>>; hereafter: RICI) database.

¹⁹ When discussing prominent Servite authors, we should mention the library of Paolo Sarpi, also included in the records of the Congregation of the Index (VL 11270, ff. 384r–393v), see M.-M. Lebreton & L. Fiorani, *Codices Vaticani Latini. Codices 11266–11326. Inventari di biblioteche religiose italiane alla fine del Cinquecento* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985; hereafter: LF), p. 28, list LXXXI⁵, published in G.L. Masetti Zannini, 'Libri di fra Paolo Sarpi e notizie di altre biblioteche dei Servi (1599–1600)' *Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, 20 (1970) 174–200. Another distinctive book collection found in a Servite cloister is the subject of my «*Erano di molti libri proibiti*».

²⁰ VL 11321, ff. 502r–517v, 549 items; entitled "Lista de' libri che stanno a uso per il p. reverendissimo maestro Lelio Baglioni de' Servi e del padre maestro Anton Zanobi Baglioni da Fiorenza". LF p. 269, list X⁸; RICI book list (hereafter: ELE) 6287. See figure 1.

²¹ VL 11321, ff. 454v–455r, 24 items; entitled "Libri del p. reverendissimo maestro Lelio che ha in Pisa". LF p. 269, list XVI² (527 i.e. 517); RICI ELE 6289.

²² *Tractatus de prædestinatione* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1577): Edit6—*Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* (<<http://edit6.iccu.sbn.it>> (hereafter: Edit6) CNCE 3877; P.M. Branchesi, 'Edizioni del secolo XVI (1501–1600)' in *Bibliografia dell'Ordine dei Servi. II* (Bologna: Centro di studi O.S.M., 1972; hereafter: Branchesi XVI) p. 128: 1. *Tractatus de peccato originali* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1579): Edit6 CNCE 3878;

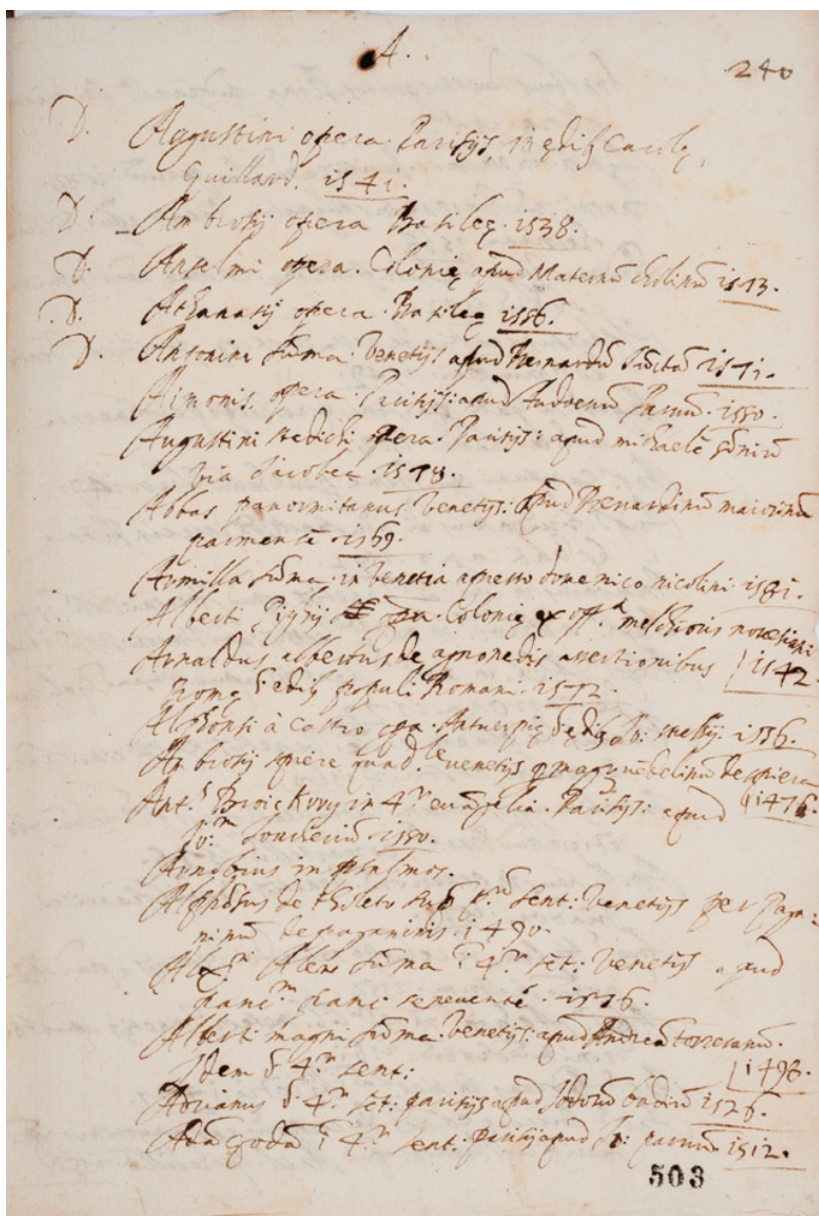


Illustration 9.1. First page of the list of Lelio and Antonio Zanobi Baglioni [VL 11321, f. 503r]. © 2012 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

important role in the life of his order—after he had been *regens studiorum* in Siena and Bologna, he became prior provincial of Tuscany and in 1588 procurator general. He was named vicar general in 1590 and sought to lead the order to a stricter discipline.²³

Born in 1564, Antonio Zanobi was close to Lelio Baglioni and served as his secretary. Both men ran into trouble within the Order. They were first on trial, together, in 1597, and Lelio was subsequently detained for about two years.²⁴ In 1614 Antonio Zanobi was tried again, before being definitively discharged in 1617.²⁵ Antonio Zanobi was rector of the *studium* of Bologna (1597) and Florence (1604). Named prior provincial of Tuscany in 1612 and procurator general later the same year, he was also a consultant for the Congregation of the Index. He died in 1619.²⁶ He wrote a number of funeral and devotional poems, some which remained unpublished.²⁷

Branchesi XVI, p. 129: 2. Reissue 1580: Edit6 CNCE 3879; Branchesi XVI, p. 129: 2/a. *De homine speculatio, speculativis hominibus ad speculandum* (Bologna: Pellegrino Bonardo, 1582); Edit6 CNCE 3880; Branchesi XVI, p. 129: 3.

²³ G.M. Roschini, *Galleria servitana* (Rome: Marianum, 1976) v. 1: *Oltre mille religiosi dell'ordine dei Servi di Maria illustri per santità, scienze, lettere ed arti*, pp. 257–258; B. Ulianich, 'Baglioni, Lelio (al secolo Ottaviano)' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1925–; hereafter: DBI) v. 5, pp. 225–228, completed and with some mistakes corrected by A.M. Dal Pino, 'I Servi di Maria nel Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani—volumi V-VIII' *Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, 17 (1967) 224–231, pp. 224–227; Edit6 CNCA 1290.

²⁴ His detainment lasted between 18 and 25 months, according to different sources. Ulianich, 'Baglioni, Lelio (al secolo Ottaviano)', p. 227; Dal Pino, 'I Servi di Maria nel Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani', pp. 225–227. It seems to confirm my hypothesis about a political use of trials in the Servite Order: see my 'Una *inquisitio* nel convento servita di Lucca', pp. 482–485; and my «*Erano di molti libri proibiti*», pp. 46–52: "Lorenzo priore del convento di Lucca: revisione storiografica. Un'ipotesi sulle denunce."

²⁵ During his detention he worked on the idea of a censored edition of the *Vite et fatti di tutti i sommi pontefici romani* of Bartolomeo Platina. M.G. Blasio, 'Bartolomeo Platina e l'identità del laico' *Roma nel Rinascimento*, 24 (2007) 17–32, pp. 25–26.

²⁶ Roschini, *Galleria servitana* v. 1, pp. 254–255; Dal Pino, 'I Servi di Maria nel Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani', p. 226; Edit6 CNCA 6780; Rome, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria (hereafter: AGOSM), Annalistica, Libro di spogli segnato A, under the date 1619: "† m[ae]str[o] Anton Zanobi Baglioni 30 settembre in età d'a[nni] 55".

²⁷ *Lamento di Caprarola et conforto d'Amaranto ambi pastori nella morte dell'illustrissimo cardinale Farnese* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Da Ponte, 1589); Edit6 CNCE 60779; Branchesi XVI, p. 128: 1. *Lamento di Caprarola et conforto d'Amaranto ambi pastori nella morte dell'illustrissimo cardinale Farnese* (Rome: Vincenzo Accolti, 1589); Edit6 CNCE 23577; Branchesi XVI, p. 128: 1/a. This poem was also included in F. Coattino, *Raccolta d'orationi, et rime di diversi, col discorso, descrizione dell'essequie, et disegno del catafalco nella morte dell'illustrissimo & reverendissimo cardinal Farnese* (Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1589); Edit6 CNCE 14762; Branchesi XVI, p. 128: 1/a; F. Tozzi, *De scriptoribus Ordinis*, ms. in AGOSM, Annalistica, f. 37r; and in T. Tasso, *Nella morte dell'illustrissimo cardinal Farnese* (Treviso: Angelo Mazzolini, 1589); Edit6 CNCE 57228. A. Zanobi Baglioni et al., *Poesie latine, e toscane nell'essequie del molto illustre e reverendissimo signor Alessandro abate*

Lelio and Antonio Zanobi Baglioni not only shared their books, but also obtained a shared licence from the Congregation of the Index to keep and read seven of them, as was reported at the end of the inventory.²⁸ Of particular interest in the inventory of their books is an entry that reads:

Tractatus de peccato originali f. Lelij Balionis seruita. Florentię, in officina Georgij Marescotti, 1579.²⁹

This reference could be to the copy of this edition that is now in the municipal library of Arezzo, which has the inscription 'Fr[at]is Zanobi Aret[in]i'.³⁰ There is no clear evidence of how this book found its way into the library of Arezzo. The Rules of the Servite Order stipulated that on their owner's death, books kept by an individual friar should go to the common library of his cloister.³¹ If the copy in Arezzo was indeed the book once owned by Antonio Zanobi, it would suggest that Antonio Zanobi was from Arezzo and would enable us to understand a little of the fate of Lelio and Antonio Zanobi's library.

The large number of texts about classical and patristic philosophy, logic and the history of the Church listed in the inventory seems to fit with Lelio's education as a theologian. He supported Papal supremacy

Pucci (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1601): P.M. Branchesi 'Edizioni del secolo XVII (1601–1700)' in *Bibliografia dell'Ordine dei Servi. III* (Bologna, Centro di studi O.S.M., 1973; hereafter: Branchesi XVII) p. 27: 2; Tozzi, *De scriptoribus Ordinis*, f. 37r. Tozzi also noted a poem dedicated to Saint Catherine, a madrigal and a sonnet once in the library of the Ss. Annunziata in Florence, mss. 225 and 226.

²⁸ The books were the *Sacra bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum* edited by Marguerin de La Bigne; the *Cosmopoeia* by Agostino Steuco; the *Figurae Bibliae* by Antonio Rampegollo; the commentaries *In Evangelium secundum Mattheum* by Johann Wild; the *De Christo abscondito* by Bartolomeo da Ferrara; the *Virtutum vitiorumque exempla* by Nicolas de Hanappes; and the *Theologia mystica* by Hendrik Herp.

²⁹ VL 11321, f. 516v (RICI item, hereafter TIT, 279298). For this edition of a work of Lelio Baglioni, see above, note 22.

³⁰ Arezzo, Biblioteca Città di Arezzo, I° 328.

³¹ 'Illius [fratris] morte secuta, sint et applicentur illi monasterio cuius erat filius [...]; denarii vero, libri resque omnes aliae sint monasterii cuius fuerat professus': see "Constitutiones fratrum Servorum Beatae Mariae Florentiae anno 1569 editae" in A. Morini & P.M. Soulier (eds), *Monumenta Ordinis Servorum Sanctae Mariae* (Brussels: Société belge de librairie, 1897–1930) VI, 109–158, p. 149. See also Rusconi, 'Le biblioteche dell'Ordine dei Servi', p. 161 and my '«Erano di molti libri proibiti», pp. 26–27. While waiting for my forthcoming study of the library of the Servite cloister of S. Pier Piccolo of Arezzo, see my 'From Inventories to Signs on Books: Evidence for the History of Libraries in the Modern Age' *The International Journal of the Book*, 8, 4 (2011) 51–60; and my 'La biblioteca di S. Pier Piccolo ad Arezzo: tracce per una ipotesi ricostruttiva' in Borracchini, *Dalla notizia librorum degli inventari agli esemplari*, 179–203.

against the theses of his better-known Servite brother and predecessor as procurator general, Paolo Sarpi.³²

Lelio Baglioni also had a disagreement with Angelo Maria Montorsoli, another book owner from my sample.³³ Born in Florence in 1547, Montorsoli studied in Bologna and Pisa. In 1579 he published his first work while he was 'in Conventu D. Annuntiatae vicario gen. et studii regente'.³⁴ In 1588 he started to live as a hermit. He was prior general from 1597 until his death in 1600.³⁵ His wish for deeper and more intimate reform in the Order is expressed in his *Lettera spirituale*. Lelio Baglioni considered Montorsoli one of his 'capital enemies' and Montorsoli's work a product of his 'melancholic moods'.³⁶ Baglioni's view of Montorsoli reflects their disagreement over how to reform the Order.

Relations seem to have been better between Baglioni and Arcangelo Giani, for whom we have two book lists, one of which records works he shared with another Servite brother, Deodato.³⁷ After his first pastoral visit as vicar general in 1590, Baglioni was concerned about the fall in

³² L. Baglioni, *Apologia contro le considerazioni di fra Paolo da Venezia dell'ordine de Servi sopra le censure della santità di N.S. papa Paolo quinto, e contro il trattato de sette theologi di Venezia sopra l'interdetto di Sua Santità. Divisa in due parti, dove si tratta della potestà, e libertà ecclesiastica* (Perugia: Vincenzo Colombara, 1606): Branchesi XVII, p. 27: 4. Copy seen: Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, 13.18.C.36. He devoted more space to this subject in the still unpublished *Considerazioni sopra il discorso di fra Marcantonio Cappello sulla controversia fra N.S. e la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia*, Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Conventi soppressi, G. V. 1315. In the same manuscript there appears to be another unpublished work, the *Examen haereticarum fabularum quibus libri quatuor de Republica Ecclesiastica Marci Antonii De Dominis referti sunt*, in which Baglioni defends a conservative Catholic position, this time against the first part of the *De Republica ecclesiastica libri XX* of Marcantonio De Dominis (London: Bonham Norton, 1617–1620). See DBI v. 5, p. 228.

³³ VL 11321, f. 305v, 16 items; entitled: "Lista de' librij [di] f. Angelo Maria servita fiorentino". LF p. 268, list IV⁴; RIC I ELE 6263.

³⁴ *Commentarii in librum I Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti; Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1579): Edit6 CNCE 47022; Branchesi XVI, p. 168: 1.

³⁵ *Lettera spirituale* (Florence: Michelangelo Sermartelli, 1597): Edit6 CNCE 34044; Branchesi XVI, pp. 168–169: 2. Roschini, *Galleria servitana* v. 1, pp. 231–233; D.M. Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi (1552–1623)' in *Bibliografia dell'Ordine dei Servi* (Bologna: Centro di studi O.S.M., 1973) 455–489, p. 467; Edit6 CNCA 9703. A DBI entry on Montorsoli is being drawn up by Maria Pia Paoli. See also B.M. Dominelli, 'Epistolario del venerabile P. Angelo M. Montorsoli (1547–1600)' *Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, 8 (1957–58) 73–133; and the preface by Odir J. Dias to the Montorsoli register as prior general: O.J. Dias, *I registri dei priori generali O.S.M. dal 1285 al 1625: presentazione e contenuto* (Rome: Archivum Generale Ordinis Servorum, 1970), p. 224.

³⁶ Cited by Ulianich in DBI v. 5, p. 227. See also AGOSM, *Negotia Religionis*, 110, f. 252r (after 1604).

³⁷ VL 11321, ff. 477v–480v, 71 items; entitled "Lista de' libri concessi ad uso del r. padre maestro Archangelo Giani fiorentino". LF p. 269, list XV²; RIC I ELE 6264. VL 11321, ff. 288r–291v, 165 items; entitled "Lista de' librij del p. maestro Archangelo Gianj fiorentino e

moral standards within the Order and commissioned Arcangelo Giani to translate the Servite Rule into vernacular Italian.³⁸ Giani was another leading figure of the Servite Order in the post-Tridentine era. Born in 1552 near Florence, he took his vows in 1569 alongside Lelio Baglioni. Having studied theology in Bologna, he taught in Florence and preached around Italy. In 1594 he returned to Florence, where he promoted reform of the Order according to the wishes of prior general Montorsoli.³⁹ In addition to the vernacular edition of the Rule, he wrote a number of other theological works.⁴⁰ His writings included indulgences, of which no copy survives, though an entry in his book list would seem to confirm that at least one edition existed.⁴¹ Giani is mostly known for his historical works on the Servite Order.⁴²

dj f. Deodato suo fratello de l'Ordine de' Serui". LF p. 268, list III²; RIC I ELE 6288. I will soon publish both these book lists. See also my 'Una *inquisitio* nel convento servita di Lucca', pp. 512–513, for another, very short, list of only four books of Arcangelo Giani, from the time he was prior at the cloister of Cortona.

³⁸ *Regola che diede papa Martino V e confermò Innocentio VIII a fratelli, e le sorelle della Compagnia de' Serui di santa Maria* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1591): Edit6 CNCE 29107; Branchesi XVI, pp. 290–291: 2. See also Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', pp. 468–469, note 46. Copy seen: Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, 10.7.C.15.2.

³⁹ Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi' 455–489; Roschini, *Galleria servitana* v. 1, pp. 275–277; D. Busolini, 'Giani, Arcangelo' in DBI v. 54, pp. 413–415; Edit6 CNCA 6034.

⁴⁰ *Sacri trilogii: de divina, coelesti, et ecclesiastica hierarchia assertiones theologicae* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1590): Edit6 CNCE 29101; Branchesi XVI, p. 150: 1; Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', p. 468, note 45. *Essequie dell'illustre signor Alessandro Abate Pucci* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1601): Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', p. 471, note 60; Branchesi XVII, p. 117: 3. *Constitutiones et decreta Sacrae Florentinae Universitatis theologorum* (Florence: Bartolomeo Sermartelli & his brothers, 1614): Branchesi XVII, p. 118: 7. *Lectiones super Genesim*; *Lectiones super decalogum*; *Lectiones super logicam*; *Lectiones casuum conscientiae*; *Lectiones et contemplationes ad mulieres de vita beatae Mariae virginis*; *Lectiones de censuris* (unpublished): Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', p. 467, note 37; p. 470, note 55; p. 474, note 4. He also dedicated some devotional Latin poems to the prior general Giacomo Tavanti, now in AGOSM, Annalistica, Q³.III.16 and Reg. PP. Gen. Flor. 33, f. 10v: Dias, *I registri dei priori generali O.S.M.*, pp. 105–106; Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', pp. 465–466; DBI v. 54, p. 413.

⁴¹ *Indulgenze per la Ss. Annunziata di Firenze e l'Ordine dei Servi di Maria* (Naples, 1589): Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', p. 468; DBI v. 54, p. 413. VL 11321, f. 479r (RICI TIT 271544): 'Indulgenze concesse al sacro Ordine di Santa Maria dei Serui'.

⁴² *Vera origine del sacro Ordine de Servi di santa Maria, cominciato in Firenze l'anno 1233. Con un catalogo de' reverendissimi generali che l'hanno fin al presente governato* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1591): Edit6 CNCE 20921; Branchesi XVI, pp. 150–151: 2; Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', pp. 468–469, note 46. Copy seen: Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, 10.7.C.15.1. *Cronologia o vero breve sommario della vita e morte del beato Filippo Benizi* (Florence: heirs of Giorgio Marescotti, 1603), Branchesi XVII, p. 117: 4; Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', p. 470. Only one copy known: AGOSM, B filza 2. Copy seen (see figure 2). *Della historia del beato Filippo Benizii nobile fiorentino*



Illustration 9.2. Giani, A., *Cronologia o vero breve sommario della vita e morte del beato Filippo Benizi* (Florence: heirs of Giorgio Marescotti, 1603) [AGOSM, B filza 2]. © 2012 Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria.

Giani owned copies of both of Montorsoli's works—the *Commentarii in lib. I Sententiarum m. Petri Lombardi* and the *Lettera spirituale*—as well as Lelio Baglioni's *Tractatus de peccato originali*. At the end of the inventory shared with Deodato, we find a copy of the edition of his own *Vera origine del sacro Ordine de Servi di santa Maria*. He also possessed a manuscript version of his *Vita del beato Filippo Benizi*, a work that was issued a few years later by the heirs of Giorgio Marescotti.⁴³

Giani's right-hand man for the work on the *Annales* was Gregorio Alasia, the youngest of our book-owning authors.⁴⁴ Born 1578 in Sommariva del Bosco, near Cuneo, Alasia entered the Servite Order in 1596. He studied in Florence and served in Rome, Duino and Genoa before returning to Rome, where he became secretary to Filippo Ferrari. He died in 1626.⁴⁵ He is best known as the author of the first Italian / Slovenian dictionary, conceived for the use of priests and preachers in Slovenia.⁴⁶ As well as working with Giani on the *Annales*, he also published a number of theological and historical works during the early seventeenth century.⁴⁷

dell'Ordine de' Servi di Maria (Florence: heirs of Giorgio Marescotti, 1604): Branchesi XVII, pp. 117–118: 5; Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', pp. 470–471. *Annalium sacri Ordinis fratrum servorum beatae Mariae virginis, a suae institutionis exordio centuriae quatuor* (Florence: Cosimo Giunta, 1618–1622): Branchesi XVII, pp. 119–123: 8; Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', pp. 473–485. *Vita, virtù e miracoli della beata Giuliana Falconieri* (Florence: Francesco Livì, 1672): Branchesi XVII, p. 123: 10; Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', p. 480.

⁴³ VL 11321, f. 478r (RICI TIT 271520); f. 479v (RICI TIT 271548); f. 480v (RICI TIT 271573); f. 291v (RICI TIT 278845 and 278846).

⁴⁴ VL 11321, ff. 421v–422r, 13 items; entitled: "Lista de' libri di fra' Gregorio da Sommaripa". LF p. 268, list VIII²; RICI ELE 6290.

⁴⁵ See his own *Alfabeto historico* (see below, note 47) p. 376: "sono venuto alla luce di questo mondo l'an. 1578, li 16 d'agosto"; Roschini, *Galleria servitana* v. 1, p. 283; D. Caccamo, 'Alasia, Gregorio (Gregorius de Summaripa)' in DBI v. 1, p. 585; S.M. Pachera, 'La fondazione del convento di Duino (1598–1601)' *Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, 60 (2010) 183–209, p. 191; S. Bonazza, 'Nuove prospettive su fra Gregorio Alasia da Sommariva', *Quaderni giuliani di storia*, 33 (2012), (forthcoming).

⁴⁶ *Vocabolario italiano e hischiavo* (Udine: Giovanni Battista Natolini, 1607): Branchesi XVII, p. 20: 2. Only one copy known: Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, R-6828.

⁴⁷ *Navis religionis Servorum sanctae Mariae* (Venice: Daniele Zanetti, 1604), chalcographic illustrated sheet: Branchesi XVII, p. 19: 1; Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', p. 474, note 5. Only copy known: Florence, Archivio della Ss. Annunziata (according to Branchesi). *Catalogo de' capitani, alfieri e sargenti di Sommariva del Bosco, ch'hanno fiorito dall'anno 1550 sino al presente* (Carmagnola: Giovanni Paolo Sertoris, 1612): Branchesi, 'Edizioni del secolo XVII', p. 20: 3. Known copies: Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, annotated by the author; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, K-3025. The third copy, listed by Branchesi as in Rome, Marianum, is actually a reprint of 1903. *Alfabeto historico, che con vivi esempi di chi ha ben servito a Dio, insegna a ciascuno la via del Paradiso* (Florence: Giunta, 1622): Branchesi XVII, p. 21: 8; Montagna, 'Fra Arcangelo Giani annalista dei Servi', pp. 484–485. *Esercizii spirituali della congregazione de' Sette Dolori della gloriosa Madre d'Iddio*,

Early sources also mention further works that are now lost or remained unpublished.⁴⁸

Deodato, who shared an inventory with Arcangelo Giani, is the only friar mentioned who was not also an author. The book list identifies him as 'Arcangelo's brother' as they were both Servite friars.⁴⁹ He was perhaps the Deodato from Pistoia who entered the Servite Order in Rome in 1587, was *magister novitiorum* in the Servite cloister of Pistoia in 1598 and was mentioned in 1599 as *corrector monialium* in the cloister of Cortona.⁵⁰

The survey carried out by the Congregation of the Index offers the opportunity to explore the personal libraries of these Servite friars. They belonged to the same Florentine circle and engaged with each other's ideas. The only inventory to carry a date is that of Lelio and Antonio Zanobi Baglioni, which is dated 3 December 1599. From the dates of the items listed, we can infer that all of the other inventories were drawn up between 1597 and 1599. The owners were at different stages of their lives and careers. The inventory of the young Gregorio Alasia, not yet 20, is particularly interesting in this regard. He had only a dozen books, mostly prayer and doctrinal books in accordance with Tridentine prescriptions, though he also had a copy of the critical edition of the Rule set up by Giani, with whom he was already working on the *Annales*.⁵¹

dell'Ordine de' Servi, con l'origine della detta religione e della compagnia dell'habito fondata l'anno 1615 in Roma, nel convento di S. Marcello (Florence: Clemente Ferroni, 1625): Branchesi XVII, p. 22: 10; only one copy known: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, B-5805. *Corona septem dolorum beatae Mariae virginis* (Rome, 1618): Branchesi XVII, p. 20: 4; F. Tozzi, *Scriptores Ordinis Servorum B.M.V.*, ms. in AGOSM, Annalistica, f. 155. No copy known. *Catalogus omnium coenobiorum et sacrarum aedium Ordinis Servorum beatae Mariae virginis* (Bologna: heirs of Bartolomeo Cochi, 1624): Branchesi XVII, p. 21: 9; Tozzi, *Scriptores Ordinis Servorum*, f. 155. No copy known.

⁴⁸ *Tabulae tres chronographicae Religionis Servorum* (Florence, 1621); *Vita della serva di Dio Sara Galli sanese; Esercitio quotidiano per stare tutto il giorno raccolto in Dio*: Tozzi, *Scriptores Ordinis Servorum*, f. 155. Another unpublished hagiographic work is included in an autograph manuscript now at the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Florence (1580.G.8). See D. Caccamo in DBI v. 1, p. 585.

⁴⁹ See above, note 37.

⁵⁰ AGOSM, Reg. PP. Gen. Flor. 38, f. 3r: "F. Deodato de Pistorio ad presbyteratus ord[in]em Romæ die 26 februarij 1587"; Reg. Prov. Tuscia 2 (1570–1602), f. 138r: "In conventu Pistorij: ven. p[ate]r f[rate]r Deodatus m[agiste]r nouitior[um]"; f. 144v: "In conventu Cortonæ: ven. p[ate]r f. Deodatus de Pistorio corrector monialium". The inventory of Giani and Deodato appears to be included, for some reason, in the book lists of the cloister of Lucca (LF p. 268, list III), while the other inventory that referred to Giani alone was included in book lists of Pistoia (LF p. 269, list XV). Giani is not known to have stayed in any of these locations. However, it is interesting that this Deodato of Pistoia was alive in those years.

⁵¹ VL 11321, f. 422r (RICI TIT 274781).

Catching Ghosts and Vanishing Books

The survey by the Roman Congregation of the Index covered the entire Italian peninsula and therefore provides a valuable means of investigating the diffusion and circulation of editions.⁵² Analysis of the lists that I have introduced also enables us to consider lost books and bibliographical ghosts.⁵³

It is often possible to identify the editions to which reference is made in the survey and to determine how popular each text was with members of Italian religious orders. For instance, the inventory of Arcangelo Giani and Deodato lists both parts of the edition of the work of Thomas Beauxamis printed in Venice in 1572; the *Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice* database registers 56 copies of the first part and 43 copies of the second.⁵⁴ One example of included incunabula is the edition of the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph von Sachsen printed in Venice by Simone Bevilacqua in 1498: the copy in the inventory of Arcangelo and Deodato joins 16 more copies listed in the survey.⁵⁵ The two friars also had a copy of the commentaries on the *Sententiae* of Petrus Lombardus by Nicolas Denisse printed in Venice by the heirs of Melchiorre Sessa in 1568, which was widely distributed; there are 86 copies in the survey.⁵⁶ Even more significant in terms of numbers is the edition of Alberto da Padova's gospels for

⁵² The RIC database is in progress. These results were mined on 1 December 2011.

⁵³ The Collins English Dictionary (Glasgow: Harper Collins, 2006), p. 684 defines a ghost edition as "an entry recorded in a bibliography of which no actual proof exists": I would argue it meant "an entry recorded in a bibliography which is sure not to have existed". Literature about bibliographical ghosts is scarce and limited to individual cases. Ugo Rozzo has used the survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index to infer the existence of incunabula editions, with results that do not always go unchallenged: 'Una fonte integrativa di ISTC: l'inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice del 1597-1603' in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, 215-250.

⁵⁴ VL 11321, f. 289v (RICI TIT 278748): T. Beauxamis, *Homiliae in omnia quae per Quadragesimam leguntur Evangelia* (Venice: [at the Fountain's device], 1572); p. 2: *In sacro sancta coenae mysteria, passionem, et resurrectionem Domini nostri Iesu, homeliae*: Editi6 CNCE 4673. According to Paul Grendler, a Venetian press run in the second half of the sixteenth century could vary from at least 400 to 2,000 or even 3,000 copies for major publishers. [*The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 9-12]. We can assume a press run of around 1,000 copies to be quite common in the sixteenth-century Venetian book market; see also A. Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2003), pp. 40-46.

⁵⁵ VL 11321, f. 289v (RICI TIT 278760): Ludolph von Sachsen, *Vita Christi* (Venice: Simone Bevilacqua, 7 Dec. 1498): *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc>> n. il00349000.

⁵⁶ VL 11321, f. 290r (RICI TIT 278776): N. Denisse, *In quatuor libros Sententiarum, opus, resolutio theologorum inscriptum* (Venice: heirs of Melchiorre Sessa, 1568): Editi6 CNCE 16825.

Lent, also printed in Venice, by Giacomo Penzio in 1523. The 116 copies of this edition registered in the survey of the Congregation of the Index include one owned by Arcangelo and Deodato, a number that also corresponds exactly with the number of copies now in Italian libraries according to Edit6.⁵⁷

The survey by the Congregation of the Index allows us to compare the output of various print centres. The relative importance of places of printing can be analysed through the inventory of Lelio and Antonio Zanobi Baglioni. Unsurprisingly, a large proportion of their library comprised books printed in Venice, but the second most frequent place of printing was Paris, from which 11% of their books came. Italian editions make up about 70% of all editions; the rest had mainly been printed in France and Germany, with a very small number of books from the Low Countries and Spain. This source also tells of smaller, peripheral or badly documented printing workshops whose production addressed the needs of local markets.

Although the inventories drawn up for the survey by the Congregation of the Index vary considerably in character, reflecting the ability of their scribe and local procedures, they fit together into a broader picture. The reliability of the bibliographic descriptions is overall very high, though there are a good number of mistakes, which are generally the result of lower levels of education and a lack of accuracy or have been introduced during transcription from a previous draft or copy of the inventories. I have been able to identify with a degree of confidence around 82% of the editions in my sample lists, a figure that includes items that match existing copies perfectly and items whose mistakes, especially in the date, are easily recognised as misspellings. An example of this second instance can be found in the list of the books in the possession of Arcangelo Giani:

Comentaria in primum librum Sentent. magistri Petri Lombardi auctore magistro Angelo Maria Montursio seruita. Florentiae, apud Bartolomeum Sermartellium, 1529.⁵⁸

The date '1529' should surely read '1579', as Bartolomeo Sermartelli did not begin his printing activity until 1553.⁵⁹ The number and type of

⁵⁷ VL 11321, f. 290r (RICI TIT 278777): Alberto da Padova, *Evangeliorum quadragesimalium opus aureum nunquam alias impressum* (Venice: Giacomo Penzio, 1523): Edit6 CNCE 770.

⁵⁸ VL 11321, f. 478r (RICI TIT 271520). For this edition of a work of one of our authors, Angelo Maria Montorsoli, see above, note 34.

⁵⁹ Edit6 CNCT 160.

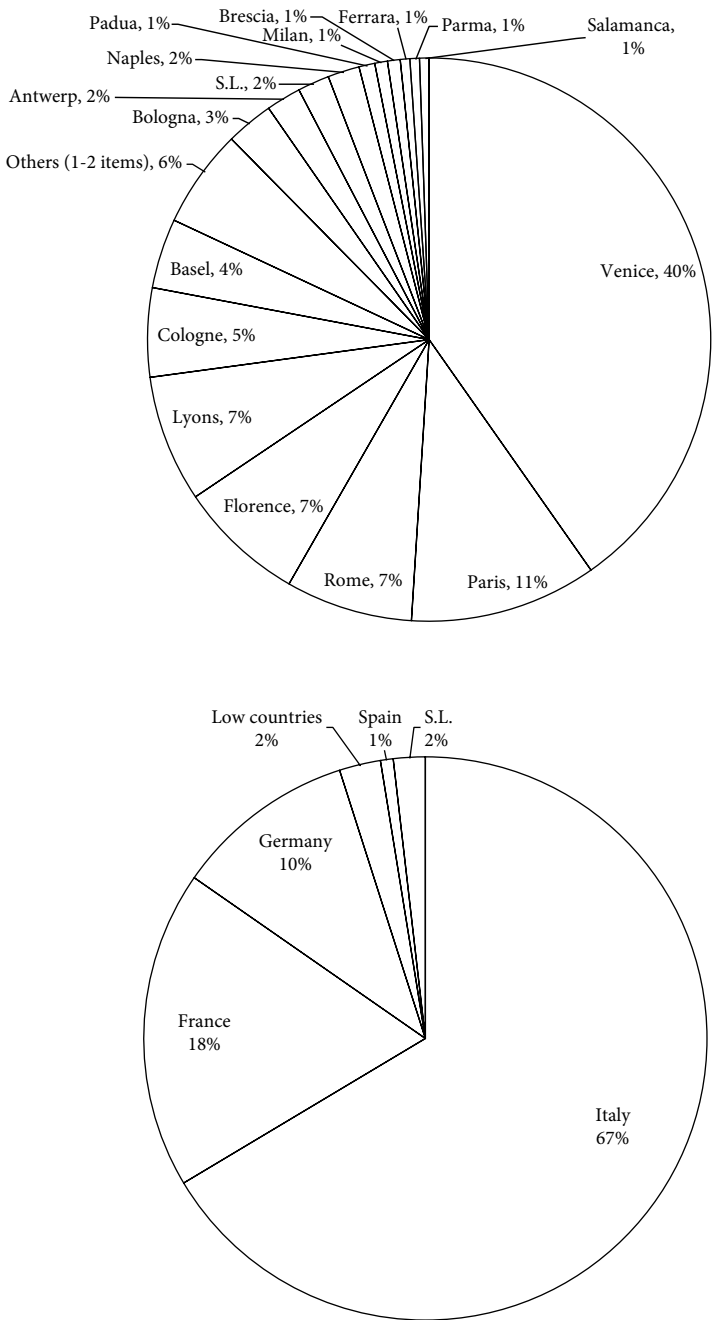


Figure 9.1. Different places of printing cited in the inventory of library of Lelio and Antonio Zanobi Baglioni (RICI ELE 6287).

misspellings suggests that these lists were transcribed from a previous draft or source.⁶⁰ The confusion of '2' and '7' and of '1' and '7' is a common and understandable error; other mistakes are likely to have already been in the first draft of the inventories, as a result of the misreading of Roman dates.⁶¹

A small percentage of the listed works are items that are unknown but whose existence is plausible: these entries may prove the existence of editions currently lost. One such example is the first item in the list of books belonging to Angelo Maria Montorsoli, described as a copy of the Roman breviary printed by Giunta in Venice in 1597.⁶² The Giunta press in Venice specialised in the production of breviaries, missals and other liturgical works and was active in 1597.⁶³ That year, Lucantonio Giunta released an edition of the Roman missal that could very plausibly have been printed together with a breviary.⁶⁴ Both works would have been intended for practical, everyday use, which likely explains why only four copies of the missal are now to be found in Italian libraries and none of the breviary. But a number of copies of this breviary appear in this survey: two copies were owned by friars of the Servite Order, one by Angelo Maria Montorsoli, in Florence, and the other in Gorgonzola, near Milan; three copies were in the possession of Hermits of St Augustine, two in southern Italy (Catanzaro, Calabria) and one in central Italy (Volterra, Tuscany); another copy was in the possession of a friar Minor of the Observance in Modena and, finally, one copy was held in Bergamo by a Canon Regular of the Lateran.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ See, for instance, VL 11321, f. 454v (RICI TIT 274792): 'Hinnō' for 'Haimo'; f. 478v (RICI TIT 271529): 'Artiadi' for 'Amadi'; ibid. (RICI TIT 271531): 'Dauicdrapium' for 'Paucidrapium'; f. 479r (RICI TIT 271543): 'Ianuarij' for 'Louanij'; f. 480v (RICI TIT 271570): 'Arabum' for 'Alardum'; f. 503r (RICI TIT 274609): 'agnone{n}dis' for 'agnoscendis'.

⁶¹ About misspellings and mistakes, Granata, 'I libri dei canonici secolari di S. Giorgio in Alga', pp. 204–206; Rusconi, 'I libri dei religiosi nell'Italia di fine '500', p. 21 and my «*Erano di molti libri proibiti*», pp. 20–22.

⁶² VL 11321, f. 305v (RICI TIT 271488).

⁶³ Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, pp. 5–6.

⁶⁴ *Missale Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum* (Venice: Giunta, 1597): Editu6 CNCE 11710. Copies listed by Editu6: Bergamo, Biblioteca civica A. Mai; Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana; Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana; Vicenza, Biblioteca civica Bertoliana.

⁶⁵ Francesco from Milan, vicar of the cloister of Gorgonzola: VL 11321, f. 46r (RICI TIT 24455); Aurelio from Catanzaro, prior: VL 11295, f. 10r (RICI TIT 130075); and Aurelio from Belvedere: VL 11295, f. 12r (RICI TIT 130274), both in the cloister of S. Maria del Soccorso in Catanzaro; Francesco from Volterra, cloister of S. Agostino of Volterra: VL 11310, f. 178v (RICI TIT 223588); Francesco Casale, guardian of the cloister of Ss. Cecilia and Margherita of Modena (RICI TIT 282502); Giorgio from Vercelli, cloister of S. Spirito, Bergamo: VL 11277, f. 172r (RICI TIT 201339). For the copy of Angelo Maria Montorsoli see above, note 62.

We have then seven copies from cloisters belonging to three different religious orders and covering the Italian peninsula from north to south. Furthermore, most of the entries cite the bookseller's address in exactly the same way—'apud Iuntas, 1597'—which mirrors the address used in the missal. The appearance of this entry in so many independent manuscripts and inventories is very persuasive evidence of the existence of an edition of the Roman breviary printed by Lucantonio Giunta in Venice in 1597. This is a crucial point: inventories can provide vital evidence of the existence of editions, works or even authors unknown to scholarship.⁶⁶ As in classical philology, mistakes can lead to discoveries. Here, the more instances we have, the less plausible it is that the same mistake has been made independently in different places.

One entry in the book list of Lelio and Antonio Zanobi Baglioni records:

Compendio della frequenza del santissimo sacramento di fra' Pietro Martire. In Fiorenza, apresso Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1580.⁶⁷

Pietro Martire Morelli was a Dominican friar of the sixteenth century.⁶⁸ The three known sixteenth-century editions of his *Compendio*, all of which are very rare, do not include the edition listed in this entry. The first Latin edition is thought to have been printed in Mondovì in 1570.⁶⁹ Two vernacular editions were printed between 1579 and 1580, the first in Venice by Pietro Deuchino, the second in Turin by the heirs of Niccolò Bevilacqua.⁷⁰ It is plausible that another edition could have been printed, also in 1580, in Florence by Bartolomeo Sermartelli, especially when we take into consideration that another copy of this edition

⁶⁶ See Zappella, 'Alla ricerca del libro perduto', pp. 243–293, about the use of these inventories to document some fifteenth-century editions printed in Naples otherwise unknown to scholarship. A number of lost editions of the *Confessionario* of Girolamo da Palermo have recently been identified by Rosa Marisa Borraccini 'Il Confessionario di Girolamo da Palermo: un long seller sconosciuto' *Il capitale culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, 6 (2013) 28–39. See also Compare, 'Inventari di biblioteche monastiche femminili', p. 228: "Un certo spazio era accordato [...] agli autori più prettamente locali, molte volte personaggi di cui si è perduta ogni traccia, ma che, stando agli elenchi, in quel momento godevano di un'ampia diffusione."

⁶⁷ VL 11321, f. 506r (RICI TIT 278898).

⁶⁸ Edit6 CNCA 9687.

⁶⁹ P.M. Morelli, *Compendium frequentiae divinissimi sacramenti* (Mondovì, 1570): Edit6 CNCE 58298; M. Bersano Begey & G. Dondi (eds), *Le cinquecentine piemontesi* (Turin: Tipografia torinese, 1961–1966), v. 2: 1114. No copies known.

⁷⁰ P.M. Morelli, *Compendio della frequenza del santissimo sacramento* (Venice: Pietro Deuchino, 1579): Edit6 CNCE 65399. Only one copy known: Rome, Biblioteca universitaria Alessandrina. P.M. Morelli, *Compendio della frequenza del santissimo sacrameto* [?] (Turin: heirs of Niccolò Bevilacqua, 1580): Edit6 CNCE 33621. For this edition, too, only one copy has apparently survived: Perugia, Biblioteca Dominicini.



Figure 9.2. Geographical distribution of copies of the lost Roman breviary (Venice: Giunta, 1597) in the RICI database (RICI BIB 20826).

is reported as being part of the library of the Capuchin cloister of Cesena.⁷¹

While such cases allow us to formulate our hypothesis about the nature of the edition with relative ease, we face a trickier case with the following

⁷¹ Cloister of Stimmate di S. Francesco, VL 11326, f. 208v (RICI TIT 251449).

item, which is from the list of the books in the possession of Arcangelo Giani:

Modo di sapersi preparare per pigliare il santissimo iubileo con l'orationi che s'hanno a dire raccolte da d. Francesco curato di s. Antonio. Roma, per Nicolò Mutio, 1591.⁷²

The official who transcribed this entry could not read the second part of the name properly and left a blank space between 'Francesco' and 'curato di s. Antonio'. That the date is misspelled—1591 for 1597—is quite easy to infer, since Niccolò Muzi only started printing in Rome in the year 1594.⁷³ The challenges of identification continue, however, for not only the edition but also the author seem to be unknown to Edit16. The title indicates that the work was a prayer book, the perfect example indeed of cheap print meant for a popular audience and everyday use. Its character would in itself explain this work's rarity. No copy of this pamphlet (4 unnumbered leaves *in octavo*) by the otherwise obscure author Francesco Roncino is apparently to be found in Italian libraries, but its identification was made possible, beyond all expectations, by a unique copy of this work that is now in the Biblioteca Provincial of Córdoba.⁷⁴

Lastly, some entries are too laconic to allow us to speculate in any great depth about the editions to which they refer. Into this category fall items indicating just the name of the author and a title—sometimes even a generic title, as in the last entry in the inventory of Angelo Maria Montorsoli:

La regola di santo Agostino e costituzioni de' Serui.⁷⁵

This entry tells us about the general composition of the library, but it is not sufficient to allow us to identify the edition; we would need to locate the copy in order to do so.⁷⁶

As mentioned above, the survey is invaluable in allowing us to access the production of peripheral printing workshops and to assess the sustainability of small local markets. This entry from the library of Lelio and Antonio Zanobi Baglioni is a case in point:

⁷² VL 11321, f. 479v (RICI TIT 271553).

⁷³ Edit16 CNCT 96.

⁷⁴ F. Roncino, *Modo di sapersi preparare per pigliare il Sant.mo. Giubileo* (Rome: Niccolò Muzi, 1597). Copy: Córdoba, Biblioteca Provincial, 34/17bis (7).

⁷⁵ VL 11321, f. 305v (RICI TIT 271503).

⁷⁶ This analysis opens new fields of research: see the essays in Borraccini, *Dalla notitia librorum degli inventari agli esemplari*, in particular my 'La biblioteca di S. Pier Piccolo ad Arezzo' and 'From Inventories to Signs on Books'.

Sphera del Busto. Florentię, per Franciscum Dini, 1489.⁷⁷

Although inaccurate in many respects, this item holds some interesting clues. The date is, again, clearly miswritten, with 1489 instead of 1589, as Francesco Dini was active at the end of the sixteenth century. Even with the date corrected, however, the citation still looks suspicious. Francesco Dini was a blind itinerant printer from Colle Val d'Elsa, in the province of Siena. He did not own a shop of his own and used the presses of Giuliano Marini and Francesco Tosi in Florence. Above all, Dini is known only as a publisher of pamphlets and ephemera. Edit16 records that only 19 editions printed for him are now in Italian libraries, and they are all in the vernacular.⁷⁸ Though it is not impossible, it seems surprising that Dini could have commissioned a Latin edition of the *Sphaera* of Ioannes de Sacrobosco. Whatever the full truth, the item must refer to a new edition as none of the existing editions share the typographic characteristics of this Latin edition.

Another interesting entry, this time from the list of Arcangelo Giani and Deodato, reads:

Expositio fratris Clementis Ragusini Ord. Pred. super Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. Senis, in officina Francisci Simeonis, 1548.⁷⁹

If we trust the inventory, this book was printed in Siena by Francesco Nardi in 1548. Siena was a minor printing centre, and Francesco Nardi is recorded in Edit16 as having printed 24 editions in the 1540s, mainly *in octavo* and comprising only a few sheets.⁸⁰ This record of Francesco Nardi's imprint is therefore of great interest, as this item is not listed in Edit16 and none of his three 1548 imprints carries the formula 'in officina'. I suggest, however, that we be wary of simply chalking this work up as a previously unknown edition. Clemens Araneus would seem an unlikely presence in the production of Francesco Nardi, which was usually made of short works of literature, poetry or theatre. My hypothesis in this case is that this entry records two different editions that have been bound together, a procedure we shall discuss later. The only known edition of the *Expositio super Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* of Clemens Araneus was an *octavo* book printed by Niccolò Bascarini in Venice in 1547 and has no

⁷⁷ VL 11321, f. 515r (RICI TIT 279240).

⁷⁸ Edit16 CNCT 808 and records attached.

⁷⁹ VL 11321, f. 289r (RICI TIT 278737).

⁸⁰ See the records attached to CNCT 669.

typographical notes on the title page.⁸¹ A copy of this edition and a copy of a book printed the following year by Francesco Nardi could have been bound together after purchase, a hypothesis given added weight by the closeness in their dates of printing.

The inventories can tell us about the cataloguing procedure used—a practice I define as proto-cataloguing. When an edition did not have a date on the title page or in the colophon, the author of Lelio and Antonio Zanobi's inventory looked for a date of printing in the preliminary material.⁸² This approach is not unlike the sophisticated bibliographic analysis undertaken by present-day cataloguers.⁸³ But it is also a warning to be very careful when using these inventories. If anything essential to the bibliographic description was missing on the title page, the person drafting the inventory looked for this data elsewhere in the book. Unfortunately, however, he may not have done so with sufficient care and could have failed to notice, for example, the coexistence of different editions in the one binding. While dating errors are easily identified, this confusion of different books is the most common reason for the creation of bibliographical ghosts.⁸⁴

Though the origins of this kind of mistake are easily comprehended, it is hard—if not impossible—to identify with certainty occurrences of this phenomenon without material evidence. One remarkable case is given in the inventory of Arcangelo Giani:

⁸¹ C. Araneus, *Expositio cum resolutionibus occurrentium dubiorum etiam Lutheranorum errores confutantium secundum subiectam materiam super Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos per modum lecturae* (Venice: Niccolò Bascarini, 1547): Editi6 CNCE 2294.

⁸² VL 11321, f. 509r (RICI TIT 278994); f. 511r (RICI TIT 279077); f. 516v (RICI TIT 279304).

⁸³ See ISBD(A) (available on-line: <<http://archive.ifla.org/VII/s13/pubs/isbda3.htm>>), rule 4.4.4: When there is no date of publication in the publication, the date of granting of a privilege to print, if known, is given in its place, and indicated as such; and rule 4.4.6: When no date of publication appears on the publication, but the date can be determined from internal evidence or from reference works, such a date is given enclosed in square brackets. The source of the date is given in area 7. For the Italian practice for SBN (OPAC *Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale* <<http://www.sbn.it>>) see Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, *Guida alla catalogazione in SBN. Libro antico* (Rome: ICCU, 1995), pp. 62 and 64: the rules 3C5 and 3G1–2 recommend that when there is no date on the title page or in the colophon an inferred or approximate date is given, giving the source in area 7.

⁸⁴ More examples of inaccurate descriptions in the inventories of the survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index are reported in Laudadio, 'La provincia dei frati Minori dell'Osservanza di Trinacria', pp. 228–229; and Granata, 'I libri dei canonici secolari di S. Giorgio in Alga', p. 203, note 53 and Appendix, *passim*: for instance, p. 212: items 4–5; p. 213, items 9–11 and 13–14, etc.

Francisci de Maironis In primum Sent. Venetijs, per Bonettum Locatellum presbiterum, 1507 die 3 feb.⁸⁵

We have here the full date of publication: 3 February 1507. This date corresponds entirely with that of the edition of another work by François de Meyronnes, the *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, printed in Venice by Boneto Locatello for the heirs of Ottaviano Scoto,⁸⁶ a copy of which was perhaps bound after a copy of the *Scriptum in primum Sententiarum*. That copy of the *Scriptum* was, I conjecture, the edition printed by the same Locatello and Scotos between 1504 and 1507, which had no typographical data on the title pages.⁸⁷ Both editions are *in folio* and were the work of one author and printer at around the same time: it is therefore likely that they were bound together after purchase. We can be certain only that the first part of the *Scriptum* was in this volume, whatever the edition. If my hypothesis is correct, however, this entry describes a copy of the volume published in 1504, as stated on the colophon, with the other parts, dated 1505, 1506 and 1507, bound after the first part and in front of the *Quaestiones quodlibetales*. The author of the inventory may not have noticed all of the components and noted down just the title page of the first part and the colophon of the last.

A complete overview of all the surviving inventories generated by the survey is necessary. A comprehensive approach will be especially enlightening about the existence and diffusion of editions: where the evidence provided by a single item is insufficient, more items may be able to fill the gap.⁸⁸ At the same time, however, close analysis, item by item, is also indispensable if we are to understand the peculiarities of each inventory,

⁸⁵ VL 11321, f. 479r (RICI TIT 271537).

⁸⁶ Franciscus de Mayronis, *Quolibettales* [!] *questiones fertilissime de obscurissimo carcere tenebrosoque in lucem clarissimam educte* (Venice: Boneto Locatello for the heirs of Ottaviano Scoto, 3 Feb. 1507): Edit6 CNCE 32880.

⁸⁷ Franciscus de Mayronis, *In primum [-quartum] Sententiarum foecundissimum scriptum suum conflatus nominatus* (Venice: Boneto Locatello for the heirs of Ottaviano Scoto, 1504–1507): Edit6 CNCE 32827.

⁸⁸ Romeo De Maio first suggested that a complete edition of these inventories was desirable: De Maio, 'I modelli culturali della Controriforma', p. 370 and Zappella, 'Alla ricerca del libro perduto', pp. 245–254. The edition of the whole corpus is being developed by an Italian research group directed by Roberto Rusconi as a printed transcription and an electronic database. On the database see G. Granata, 'Struttura e funzionalità della banca dati "Le biblioteche degli Ordini regolari in Italia alla fine del secolo XVI"' in Borraccini & Rusconi, *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini Regolari*, 285–305; and '«La più grande bibliografia nazionale della Controriforma»: il trattamento informatico dei dati dell'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice' in R. Rusconi (ed.) *Il libro antico tra catalogo storico e catalogazione elettronica. Convegno internazionale—Roma, 29–30 ottobre 2010* (Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2012) 133–154.

including its standard patterns of mistakes and misspellings. Only then will we have the measure of the reliability of each bibliographic record and avoid creating ghosts. And even though it may seem discouraging, when we do not have access to a physical copy, sometimes luck rather than ratiocination enables us to identify an error.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ F.B. Williams Jr., 'Penny-Pinching Printers and Tampered Titles' *Studies in Bibliography*, 14 (1961) 209–211, p. 209. I will devote more space to ghosts and bibliographic tricks in a future publication.

CHAPTER TEN

PASTORAL CARE AND CULTURAL ACCURACY: BOOK COLLECTIONS OF SECULAR CLERGY IN THREE SOUTHERN ITALIAN DIOCESES

Andrea Ottone

"I have been a curate since I was young. I am a simple priest; all my life I learned no more than some grammar, the Catechism, and a little of Toledo".¹ With these words Father Giacomo Ostuzza, parson of Pantianicco, in the northeast of Italy, justified a brief lapse in moral judgment to the inquisitor of Udine in 1647. Blaming a poor education was likely a common strategy when facing the Inquisition, but what is striking here is that Father Giacomo seems fairly certain that his social and professional status as parish priest would have been sufficient evidence of his limited education.

The cultural formation of the post-Tridentine secular clergy is not new to historiography.² Yet this issue has rarely been treated from the

¹ Luciano Allegra, "Il parroco: un mediatore fra alta e bassa cultura" in *Storia d'Italia. annali*, vol. 4, ed. Corrado Vivanti (Torino: Einaudi, 1981), 915–16. The author that Giacomo Ostuzza refers to must be Francisco Toledo, Spanish Jesuit theologian and author of the *Instructiones sacerdotum libri VII* (CNCA 7074). On-line resources were current on 11 January 2012. My gratitude goes to Roberto Rusconi, Geoffrey Parker, Robert Davis, Kate Epstein, Anne Langendorfer and Megan Drinkwater for the help they provided throughout the stages of writing this chapter. Abbreviations used in this chapter are CNCA, CNCE: Editi6—*Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* <http://editi6.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm>; ISTC: *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc>>; RIC: *Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice* <<http://ebusiness.taiprora.it/bib/index.asp>>; SBN: OPAC Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale <<http://www.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/antico.jsp>>; USTC: *Universal Short Title Catalogue* <<http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>>.

² For southern Italy see Romeo de Maio, *Le origini del Seminario di Napoli: contributo alla storia napoletana del Cinquecento* (Naples: Fiorentino, 1958), pp. 32–3; Angelomichele De Spirito, 'La formazione del clero meridionale nelle 'Regole' dei primi seminari', in *Studi di storia sociale e religiosa: scritti in onore di Gabriele De Rosa* ed. Antonio Cestaro (Napoli: Ferraro, 1980), pp. 911–2; V. di Flavio, 'Grado d'istruzione del clero reatino nel periodo 1560–1620', in *Il Concilio di Trento nella vita spirituale e culturale del Mezzogiorno tra XVI e XVII secolo: atti del convegno di Maratea, 19–21 giugno 1986* ed. Gabriele De Rosa and Antonio Cestaro (Venosa: Edizioni Osanna Venosa, 1988), pp. 119–54; Gian L. Masetti Zannini, 'Ricerche sulla cultura e sulla formazione del clero piceno dopo il Concilio di Trento', *Studia picena* 43 (1976), pp. 60–89; Michele Miele, 'I sinodi diocesani post-tridentini dell'arcivescovo spagnolo di Salerno Gaspare Cervantes, 1564–1568', in *Parola e spirito:*

standpoint of the secular clergy themselves. For the most part, studies of this topic have been based on normative sources such as the records of local synods and diocesan councils. This top-down perspective cannot provide a complete picture. Our knowledge of the cultural engagement of the secular clergy will remain limited if we look only at the educational model prescribed by normative sources: it is one thing to prescribe a norm and another thing entirely to apply that norm from the centre onto the periphery.³ By looking at the book holdings of the post-Tridentine secular clergy we can uncover a cultural realm where prescribed readings and personal preferences interlock, disclosing the relationship between professional duties and personal idiosyncrasies. Notoriously, individual book inventories are very rare for the early modern period, especially for people of humble social ranking like provincial parish priests. Often private inventories were occasioned by the bequeathing of property, and provincial parish priests were rarely involved with patrimonial succession. The typology of the book inventories that constitute the focus of this chapter is, I believe, very rare, mainly because the circumstances that generated those inventories are rather atypical.

To understand these circumstances we will need to consider the peculiar social-institutional structure of the Viceroyalty of Naples, a region that was politically Spanish but culturally Italian. After 1596, the year of publication of the third Roman Index of Forbidden Books, the so-called Clementine Index, bishops and inquisitors started roaming around the territories under their jurisdiction promulgating the Index. In so doing they were exercising their right to verify the correctness of all private and communal book collections found in their district. The new Index explicitly appointed them to carry out a clean-up of private collections.⁴

studi in onore di Settimio Cipriani, vol. 2, ed. Settimio Cipriani and Cesare Marcheselli Casale (Brescia: Paideia, 1982), pp. 1107–53.

³ Significant exceptions are available only for northern Italy: Luciano Allegra, *Ricerche sulla cultura del clero in Piemonte. Le biblioteche parrocchiali nell'arcidiocesi di Torino. Sec. XVII–XVIII* (Torino: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria, 1978); K. Comerford and M. Kathleen, 'The Influence of the Jesuits on the Curriculum of the Diocesan Seminary of Fiesole, 1636–46', *The Catholic Historical Review* 84 (1998), pp. 662–80; Lorenzo Paliotto, 'La biblioteca di un parroco ferrarese in età post tridentina', *Analecta pomposiana: studi di storia religiosa delle diocesi di Ferrara e Comacchio* 13 (1988), pp. 93–119. For southern Italy see Costanzo Cargnoni, 'Libri e biblioteche dei cappuccini della provincia di Siracusa alla fine del sec. XVI', *Collectanea Franciscana* 77 (2007), 63–151; his study mainly concerns the regular clergy, but he includes a section on the reading habits of some friars endowed with pastoral functions (see pp. 114–33).

⁴ "Bishops and Inquisitors shall take care that, as soon as the Index is published, people subjected under their jurisdiction will hand over to them a careful description of the titles

Furthermore, bishops and inquisitors also had a valuable normative tool that they could employ to reach beyond the boundaries of their own jurisdiction and impose their policing authority in *peculiar dioceses* as well.⁵ *Peculiar dioceses*, or *nullius diocesi*, were areas in which spiritual jurisdiction was held by an abbot instead of a bishop. These jurisdictions were a reminder of feudal institutions that were fading away in other areas of Italy but were still well-established in the late sixteenth century in the Viceroyalty of Naples, where monastic orders maintained large ecclesiastical fiefdoms in rural areas surrounding some of their monasteries.

The norms of the Clementine Index that gave neighbouring bishops access to their feudal possessions were the cause of much aggravation for the regular orders. The resistance soon displayed by regulars to compliance with the manner of implementation prescribed by the Clementine Index was founded on patrimonial interests: the loss of spiritual prerogatives over monastic fiefs could have been a first step towards the loss of tax-raising prerogatives. As early as 1597, one year after the publication of the Clementine Index, regular orders petitioned the Congregation of the Index, asking that these contested privileges be restored to them and that they be allowed to oversee the implementation of the Clementine Index in their own fiefs. The Congregation of the Index, whose best interests lay in smoothing over the procedures of censorship to avoid local jurisdictional conflicts, agreed. After March 1597, individual abbots were appointed to carry out the necessary inspections in the fiefs under their jurisdiction. This new privilege came with responsibilities: when inspecting private book collections, the regular orders were required to take precise minutes that listed the books according to thorough bibliographic criteria (author, title, place of printing, printer, year of publication and number of volumes). A copy of the records produced by the inspections was to be sent to the Roman Congregation of the Index, together with all

of each book, either of common or private use, found forbidden by the index itself." My translation from the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of 1596, § 1, paragraph "De prohibitionem librorum", cited in Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della scrittura: 1471-1605* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997), p. 236.

⁵ "Let Bishops and Inquisitors together have the faculty of expurgating whichever books are similar to the precept of this index even in *peculiar dioceses*: but where there are no Inquisitors, Bishops alone shall have this faculty." § 1, "De correctione librorum" of the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of 1596; see Jesús M. De Bujanda, Francis M. Higman and James K. Farge. *Index Des Livres Interdits*, vol. 9 (Sherbrooke, Québec, Canada: Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance, Editions de l'Université de Sherbrooke, 1984), p. 926.

all other lists concerning the monastic houses.⁶ The resulting data is extraordinary, not only because of the bibliographic information it conveys, but also because of the social and geographic context from which it comes.

This chapter will concentrate on the manuscript *Vaticanus Latinus 11276*, which collects together the inventories that were produced by inspections of seven fiefdoms under the jurisdiction of the Carthusian Order in the Viceroyalty of Naples. The result is a large sample, with book lists from five rural parishes located in Calabria, one in Cilento, and one in the city of Naples. These seven samples are particularly interesting for their geographic distribution within the southern Italian peninsula and the social-cultural realities they illustrate. Naples at the end of the sixteenth century was one of the most populous cities in Europe (ca. 200,000 inhabitants); it was an archdiocese, the capital of the Viceroyalty of Naples, a lively university town and, consequently, a centre of the book trade. The farther south we travel, the more we move away from well-known epicentres of humanistic culture and from established hubs of the European book market. According to a census of 1586, Casalnuovo, a rural possession of the Charterhouse San Lorenzo of Padula located in the south-eastern hinterland of Salerno (south of Naples), was a community of 126 households.⁷ The five rural fiefs in Calabria under the rule of the Charterhouse of Serra San Bruno were just as modest as Casalnuovo. Spadola and Serra represented 132 households, Gasperina 103, Montauro 128 and Bivongi only 47.⁸ The demography of this area was far from stable. In 1603 Spadola and Serra grew to 218 households and Bivongi to 113 families, whilst Montauro and Gasperina dropped to just 100 and 84 units respectively.⁹ Fluctuations of this kind reflect the great instability of rural communities, with frequent migrations brought about by economic hardships and dangers of various kinds, from endemic banditry to Barbary piracy.

⁶ Gigliola Fragnito, 'L'indice clementino e le biblioteche degli ordini religiosi', in *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice: atti del convegno internazionale, Macerata, 30 maggio—1 giugno 2006 Università degli Studi di Macerata, Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Documentarie, Artistiche e del Territorio* ed. Rosa M. Borraccini Verducci and Roberto Rusconi (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), pp. 43–50.

⁷ Scipione Mazzella, *Descrittione del Regno di Napoli* (Napoli, Gio. Battista Cappelli, 1586), p. 51.

⁸ Mazzella, *Descrittione*, pp. 105–7.

⁹ Henrico Bacco, *Il Regno di Napoli* (Napoli: Gio. Giacomo Carlino, 1603), pp. 54–6.

Using solely quantitative data, we can already draw some conclusions about the cultural milieu of these rural communities. In Spadola and Serra, the censors uncovered only 24 persons with private libraries, while Bivongi and Montauro each had five private collections and Gasperina had seven.¹⁰ At the time of the inspection of the five Calabrian fiefs (some-time between 16 September 1599 and 18 October 1600), these were either the only book collections in those districts or the ones thought likely to be of interest to the Congregation.¹¹ Whichever the case, these villages do not seem to have been hubs of lively book circulation. The owners of the collections conform to a specific social profile: all were male and most were clergymen or had an academic or professional status that accounted for their engagement with manuscript and print culture.¹²

With this information in mind we can now approach the book lists of the clergymen active in the seven parishes found in the *Vaticanus Latinus* 11276. The inventories will allow us to explore a conceptual territory where ownership and readership merge. Strictly speaking, we have no proof that the books listed in the inventories corresponded, in part or in full, to the reading habits of their owners: some books could have been simply owned and never read, and a curious reader might have gone beyond his own collection to consult texts elsewhere. However, as we shall see, the works that a priest acquired were often related to a specific function closely tied to his profession. The acquisition or possession of one title rather than another was not devoid of cultural meaning. Furthermore, the very ownership of texts by a post-Tridentine cleric was often considered by

¹⁰ Maria M. Lebreton and Luigi Fiorani, *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 11266–11326: Inventari di biblioteche religiose italiane alla fine del Cinquecento* (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1985), p. 69. Another valuable publication for the book holdings of the Charterhouse of Serra San Bruno is Pietro De Leo, Rita Aiello and Rita Fioravanti, *Il patrimonio librario della Certosa dei Santi Stefano e Brunone e sue dipendenze alla fine del XVI secolo (codice Vat. Lat. 11276, cc. 22r-151v)* (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 2010).

¹¹ Codicologically, the book lists of the fiefs of the Calabrian Charterhouse display substantial graphic and formal uniformity, which suggests that the assembly of their biographic and bibliographic data was thorough, even potentially complete. Most importantly, the material uniformity of this group of leaves leads me to exclude the possibility of later archival losses that might undermine quantitative analysis. Regarding the chronologic span of this documentation see *Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede*, Index, III/2ff. 204r, 209v and 5/1, f. 137r.

¹² Unfortunately the same quantitative analysis for the rural community of Casalnuovo is not possible: the heterogeneity of the documentation available suggests material may have been lost over time and that a holistic view of the cultural standing of this community is no longer possible. Quantitative comparison will also not be carried out for the parish church of Santa Maria Incoronata in Naples, since the social and cultural complexity of the city of Naples does not lie within the remit of this chapter.

diocesan authorities a sign of how well he performed his professional duties. Often diocesan rules required that the local clergy have in their possession a minimum number of texts deemed necessary to their pastoral functions.¹³ A minimalistic library could be considered a symptom of a relaxed attitude towards pastoral care. In consequence, a close look at the book holdings of provincial secular clergy is a way of measuring the implementation of Tridentine reform in peripheral areas of Italy.

The Cultural and Professional Profile of the Secular Clergy

If we initially restrict our analysis to the quantitative level, considering the book itself as a possible indicator of social-cultural status, we notice that there is not always a direct correlation between the status of the owner and the number of books in his collection. The vicar forane of Spadola had a slimmer collection than the humble cleric of Serra, and the sub-deacon of Casalnuovo had more books than two deacons of Montauero.¹⁴ There is no doubt that exposure to the book trade and regional economic conditions played a key role in shaping these collections. Nevertheless, those who had more than 20 books (the average quantity for this sample) were usually well-established in the ranks of the local clergy.¹⁵ Geography also played a role in the size of collections, with larger collections found in Naples, Casalnuovo and Serra. It is intuitive that the clergy located in a metropolis like Naples could count on a richer book market; similarly, Casalnuovo was close to Salerno, site of a major annual book fair.¹⁶

¹³ See, for example, the peremptory tone used by the Archdiocese of Naples towards prospective subdeacons: "those who aspire to the subdiaconate will not be admitted unless they bring a *Breviary* of their own": *Auertimenti sopra gli ordinandi, raccolti dalli reuerendiss. esaminatori et stampati per ordine di monsignor illustrissimo & reuerendissimo cardinale & arcivescouo di Napoli* (In Napoli: appresso Oratio Saluiani, 1577), f. 3r (CNCE3528). See also the paragraph "Qui libri sint a clericis" of the *Constitutiones, et decreta prouincialis Synodi Neapolitanae, sub illustriss. et reuerendiss. D.D. Mario Carrafa archiepiscopo Neapolitano, anno Domini 1576. A S.D.N. Gregorio 13. confirmata. Et mandato illustrissimi ac reuerendissimi D.D. Annibalis a Capua Dei, & apostolicae sedis gratia archiepiscopi Neapolitani edita* (Neapoli, ex Officina Saluiana, 1580), p. 43 (CNCE 30856).

¹⁴ See below, Figures 10.1, 10.2, 10.4 and 10.6. The vicar forane was an emissary of a nearby bishop appointed to watch over a clerical community: Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin: Einaudi, 1996), pp. 323–4.

¹⁵ Thomas Deutscher estimates that the average collection of a seventeenth-century Novarese clergyman was over forty-three books: Thomas Deutscher, 'From Cicero to Tasso, Humanism and the Education of the Novarese Parish Clergy (1565–1663)', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55 (2002) p. 1011.

¹⁶ Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Milan: Franco Angeli 1998), pp. 103–4.

Perhaps in Serra the local clergy benefited from the presence nearby of the Charterhouse of Serra San Bruno. Why else would these be the only communities in the sample with two French editions of religious-pastoral books?¹⁷ Individual libraries of the Italian Charterhouses typically included a large number of canonical books edited in Lyon and Paris.¹⁸ Their presence may be explained by the fact that the Carthusian Order was a French-based movement: international institutions such as religious orders may have experienced the dynamics of an internal circulation of goods.

Quantitative analysis does not tell the whole story, however. A small collection was not necessarily indicative of its owner's limited cultural engagement. Some small collections reflected a considerably higher intellectual investment than larger ones. Ascanio Campanella, a priest in Naples, declared he possessed only two titles, but these were multi-volume sets of the *Corpus juris canonici*¹⁹ and the *Corpus juris civilis*.²⁰ These two titles thus represented an expensive collection that constituted the minimum requirement for a legal profession or an academic degree in *utroque iure*.²¹

A completely different cultural profile emerges from the small collections of Giovan Battista Pupo of Bivongi and Fulgenzio Catanzaro of Montauro, two clerics who were still completing their professional training.²² Their low social standing and their distance from the mainstream book market made it less likely they would compile impressive collections. At the beginning of their careers, the two Calabrians had four books each, mainly schoolbooks. Renaissance schooling for boys dealt chiefly with the rudiments of Latin grammar, which was also the minimum requirement for prospective priests.²³ Battista Pupo strengthened his knowledge with an old grammar by the Napolitan author Lucio Giovanni Scoppa.²⁴ Fulgenzio Catanzaro practised his Latin solely through the use of

¹⁷ VL 11276, ff. 115r, 116v-119v, 129r, 131r, 133r-v.

¹⁸ Fourteen percent of the collection in the monastic library of the Charterhouse of Capri comprised editions from Lyon and Paris. See VL 11276, ff. 339v-345r.

¹⁹ "Tex. canonici in 4 volum. distincti cum gloss. In fol. Impressi Romae, in aedibus Populi Romanj, anno 1584": VL 11276, f. 321v (CNCE 13394, 14089, 13374, 13412).

²⁰ "Institutiones ciuiles cum gloss. Fol. 4. Impressae Venetijs, apud Cominum de Stridino Montis Ferrati, 1588": VL 11276, f. 321v.

²¹ The name Ascanio Campanella has no matches in the enrolment lists of the *Collegio dei Dottori* of the University of Naples.

²² VL 11276, f. 143v and VL 11276, f. 145v.

²³ Pastoral visits, criteria for admission to seminaries, and sacred orders insisted repeatedly on satisfactory proficiency in Latin: De Maio, *Origini*, p. 216.

²⁴ "Grammaticae Lucij Io. Scopae. Venet., apud heredes Petri Ravanj et socios, 1551. In 8^o": VL 11276, f. 143v.

primary sources like Virgil and Cicero; he did not own a grammar handbook.²⁵ No Latin training was possible without a bilingual lexicon, and they both owned one.²⁶ Fulgenzio's collection was devoted solely to the study of grammar, for it contained a handful of Latin authors and a lexicon. By contrast, Pupo had no primary sources for practising grammar and probably needed to borrow such works. He already owned, however, some of the tools he would need to undertake his prospective profession. He did not have a complete Bible, but he could follow the liturgy using his *Psalterium* in a relatively up-to-date post-Tridentine edition.²⁷ His copies of the *Tractatus sacerdotalis* by Nicolaus de Plove and the *Confessionale* by Thomas Aquinas would have helped him learn the sacramental offices. The synod of Naples of 1576 had placed both these works above the minimum requirements for an ordained priest, recognising their superior intellectual quality.²⁸

If quantitative patterns were not always informed by social and hierarchical standing, qualitative patterns certainly were. The book collections of the clerics often mirror the standard curriculum of the seminaries in that they are almost entirely focused on rudimentary grammar. The collections of Rocco Varillario and Vespasiano Raffaele, both clerics in the small village of Serra, are in keeping with wider qualitative patterns. In particular, the sections of their collections dedicated to the *studia humanitas* are almost identical. They both possess a Latin-Italian lexicon by Filippo Venuti, though in different editions, and have the same Latin manual by Luigi Antonio Sompano, in a brand new edition of 1597.²⁹ Considering that the inventory is dated circa 1599, their ownership of these grammars is evidence of their on-going training. One grammar

²⁵ "Virg. Maronis Poema cum commentarijs Seruij Marij, Siberij Donati et Ascensij. Venet., apud Aloisium de Tortis, 1551. In folio": VL 11276, f. 145v. "M. Tulli Cic. Epistolae famil. cum commentis Hubertini Crescentij Martini Pheletici et Ascentij. 1589, absque impressionis loci, apud Marcum Antonium Patavinum. In folio ... M. Tulli Cic. Orationum tomi 3. Venet., 1570. In 4^o: VL 11276, f. 145v-146r (CNCE 12492 and CNCE 12420).

²⁶ Pupo used an updated version of Filippo Venuti's lexicon; Fulgenzio Catanzaro used Calepino's dictionary, a work highly diffused in the Italian market.

²⁷ "Psalterium secundum s. R.E. ritum. Venet., 1567. In 8^o: VL 11276, f. 143v.

²⁸ Giovanni Battista Antonucci, *Catechesis, seu instructio ciuitatis, ac dioecesis Neapolitanae* (Neapoli: apud Horatium Saluianum, 1577), p. 40.

²⁹ Varillario owned the "Dictionarium vulg. et Latinum per magistrum Philippum Venuti de Cortona. Venet., apud heredes Aloysij Valvassoris, 1589. In 8^o: VL 11276, f. 133r. Raffaelli had the Venetian edition printed by Luigi Valvassori in 1587 (VL 11276, f. 133v). Raffaelli also had two more dictionaries: "Dictionarium Francisci Priscianj. Romae, apud Gulielmum Faciottum, 1595. In 8^o (CNCE 55208) and the popular "Calepinus. Venet., apud Lucium Antonium Bevilacqua, 1592, in folio, apud Dominicum Nicolinum" (CNCE 8479). See VL 11276, f. 133v. Varillario and Raffaelli owned the Venetian edition printed by Nicola Moretti in 1597 (VL 11276, f. 133r, 134r).

would not have sufficed, and they had chosen to add the same textbooks: Donatus's grammar and Vives's *Colloquia sive latinae linguae exercitatio*.³⁰ Curiously they had the same titles, but not the same editions, a fact that is open to conjecture. As the titles coincided but the editions differed, these acquisitions may not have been determined simply by the provincial market; the priests were evidently not just acquiring what was available locally. It seems that the two priests-in-training were responding to an educational programme that they had undertaken either with the same master or with two different trainers who encouraged the same purchases.

For Renaissance humanists, Latin grammar was defined as "the art of speaking and writing correctly, observed in the reading of writers and poets".³¹ Linguistic manuals were therefore only of subsidiary importance. Rocco Varillario and Vespasiano Raffaele followed almost identical patterns in their collections of Latin authors. They had both acquired Virgil, Cicero and Terence,³² although only Vespasiano Raffaele had also selected Ovid and Sallust.³³ This small difference could mean that in the local school, Virgil, Cicero and Terence formed the mandatory curriculum, while Ovid and Sallust were recommended additional texts. The small collection of Fulgenzio Catanzaro, *chierico* in the neighbouring village of Montauro, has similar characteristics.³⁴

The ownership of Latin manuals described here does not match that observed by Paul Grendler for late sixteenth-century Venice.³⁵ Despite the confirmed authority of Aelius Donatus, the choices concerning Latin grammars differed in northern and southern Italy. In Venetian sources but not in our southern Italian records, we find authors such as Guarino Veronese and Nicolò Perotti. In Venice, Lorenzo Valla was still a model for fine Latin writing,³⁶ but during the second half of the century, his repeated inclusion in the Index of Forbidden Books had undermined his position in

³⁰ Varillario had the "Secunda editio Stephani Plazonis. Venet., apud Fabium et Avgustum Zoppinos fratres. 1582. In 8°": VL 11276, f. 133r. Raffaelli, instead, had an edition printed in Venice in 1580 by Varisco, see VL 11276, f. 134r. Varillario had the Venetian edition printed by Altobello Salicato in 1588 (VL 11276, f. 133v, CNCE 30611), Raffaelli had an edition by Guerra printed in 1590 (VL 11276, f. 134r).

³¹ "Grammatica est ars recte loquendi recteque scribendi, scriptorum et poetarum lectionum observata", Nicolò Perotti, *Rudimenta grammatices*, cited by Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 162.

³² VL 11276, f. 133r–134r.

³³ VL 11276, f. 133r–134r.

³⁴ VL 11276, f. 145v.

³⁵ Grendler, *Schooling*, p. 175, table 71.

³⁶ Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 166–82.

the South.³⁷ In contrast, the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, condemned by the Index only for his commentary to the *Civitate dei*, survived in the school curricula of both north-eastern and southern Italy.³⁸ Grendler's Venetian sources cover the late 1580s while the sources available for southern Italy cover the very last decade of the century, but it would be difficult to explain the differences between Venice and southern Italy as indicative of an evolution in humanistic pedagogy. The communicative infrastructures of the sixteenth-century cultural market simply did not allow such rapid development. Instead, the likeliest explanation for the variations is the existence of different regional traditions.³⁹ Guarino Veronese and Nicolò Perotti were north-Italian scholars; Giovanni Scoppa and Luigi Antonio Sompano were not. Very significantly, however, editions of Sompano's work circulating in southern Italy had been printed in Venice.

If a pattern can be observed for humanistic literature, the same is not true for pastoral material, which has macroscopic variations. Vespasiano Raffaele possessed a copy of the New Testament, and he was the only one at his rank to own such an item.⁴⁰ Additionally, he possessed a copy of the canons of the Council of Trent, which distinguishes him also from the majority of his superiors in our sample.⁴¹

As we move up the hierarchy but still consider pastoral collections of roughly equal size, qualitative differences across collections can be substantial. Father Stefano Regna, a priest in Naples, had a Latin-Italian vocabulary by Ambrogio Calepino.⁴² However, he did not need to read challenging Latin authors as would a beginner, nor did he need grammar textbooks. If he had ever possessed Latin sources, which he likely had, he had disposed of them as his career progressed. His dictionary, however, must have been perceived as an indispensable tool for his profession since he kept it more carefully. Stefano Regna was a priest and therefore had

³⁷ De Bujanda, *Index*, vol. 10, p. 393.

³⁸ De Bujanda, *Index*, vol. 10, p. 403.

³⁹ The existence of different regional models in grammar schools can also be recognised from the book holdings of the secular clergy active in the hinterland of Milan: there the preference was for authors such as Manuel Alvares, Jean Despautère and Girolamo Cafaro: see Deutscher, 'From Cicero to Tasso', p. 1013.

⁴⁰ "Testamentum Novum. Leonis, apud Sebastianum Grippium, 1549. In 16": VL 11276, f. 133v (SBN CFIE001788).

⁴¹ "Concilium Trident. Venet., apud Hieronimum Polum, 1590. In 16": VL 11276, f. 133v (CNCE 13045).

⁴² "Calepini Dictionarium rudimentis Pauli Manutij. Impressum Venetij, sub signo Aldi, 1583. In fol.": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 8470).

to be able to perform the liturgy, for which he had a reformed breviary and a diurnal of Pius V.⁴³ He also administered penance and could consult casuistry using fairly recent manuals by Martin Azpilqueta and Martín Alfonso Vivaldo.⁴⁴ He could have updated his knowledge of dogma with a copy of the resolutions of the Council of Trent.⁴⁵

Other than Vivaldo, all these works were on the reading list that the diocese of Naples prescribed for local confessors.⁴⁶ In shaping his professional collection, Regna had only limited room for manoeuvre. Where the book collection of a priest-in-training reflected his studies, the collection of an ordained curate reflected his profession. Although Stefano Regna's holdings were not numerous, they exceeded the expectations of the diocesan authorities at least with regard to casuistic literature, with works of academic standing like the *Institutiones iuris canonici*.⁴⁷ Regna, however, was not only an active priest in the lively metropolis of Naples, but also a student who attended the city's university to pursue a doctorate in *utroque iure*. Presumably he had only just started his studies in 1599, as he obtained his degree in 1602.⁴⁸ He must have been fully proficient in Latin as otherwise he would not have been admitted to the University of Naples, and his theological training seems to have been refined, for he owned some good and up-to-date casuistry writings.⁴⁹ He likely favoured a doctorate in *utroque* rather than a degree in theology as the former would have enabled him to rise more quickly through the ecclesiastic ranks.⁵⁰ In this context, however, Regna's collection was small, and even if adequately equipped for the pastoral profession, it was surprisingly modest for legal studies.

⁴³ "Breuiarium Romanum Pij V iussu editum. Impressum Venetijs, apud Iunctas, anno 1572. In fol. 4": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 11225). "Divrnum Romanvm Pij V iussu editvm. Impressum Venetijs, apud Iuntas, anno 1583. In fol 8": VL 11276, f. 324r.

⁴⁴ "Navarri Enchiridion sive manuale. Impressum Venetijs, apud Iunctam, anno 1599. In fol.": VL 11276, f. 324v. For what concerns the author see CNCA 998. "Baculus sacerdotalis editus a p. Martino Viualdo. Impressus Venetijs, apud Gregorium Variscum, anno 1599. In 4 fol.": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 40153).

⁴⁵ "Conc. Tridentinum. Impressum Venetijs, sub signo Aldi, anni 1599. In fol. 4": VL 11276, f. 324r.

⁴⁶ Giovanni Battista Antonucci, *Catechesis, seu instructio ciuitatis, ac dioecesis Neapolitanae* (Neapoli: apud Horatium Saluianum, 1577), p. 39; CNCE 2138.

⁴⁷ "Iuris canonici institutiones a Paulo Lancelotto conscriptae. Impressae Venetijs, impensis Marci Amadei et sociorum, anno 1570. In fol.": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 26123).

⁴⁸ Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ASN) Collegio dei dottori, busta 170, f. 79v.

⁴⁹ On linguistic prerequisites to enter the University of Naples see F. Torrecca et al., *Storia della Università di Napoli* (Napoli: Ricciardi, 1924), p. 311.

⁵⁰ If he already possessed a degree in theology, he would probably have declared it when signing the certificate of admission to the doctoral college. Most new members proudly cited their previous academic achievements.

The only text that speaks of his on-going academic training is the *Institutiones iuris canonici*, which is, however, an ambivalent work in that it could be relevant to the professional work of both a learned priest and a lawyer.

The library of Lorenzo de Martino, another Neapolitan priest, constitutes a similar case. De Martino earned his doctorate in law on 3 April 1601 at the age of twenty-five.⁵¹ Surprisingly, just two years before he completed his doctorate, his bookshelves contained no legal works. All the titles he owned reflected his pastoral profession, which he supported with some refined literature. For his liturgical functions, he had acquired the mandatory copy of the reformed breviary.⁵² For his sermons he had Ludolph von Sachsen's commentary on the Psalms.⁵³ But the largest section of his collection consisted of casuistry manuals for confession. These acquisitions followed almost to the letter the reading list suggested in 1577 by the archbishop of Naples, Giovanni Battista Antonucci, to the appointed confessors of his archdiocese.⁵⁴ Silvestro Mazzolini, Martin de Azpilcueta, Bartolomeo Fumo and Tommaso de Vio were part of the bibliography selected by Antonucci and had been diligently acquired by de Martino.⁵⁵ However, he had also made some independent choices by acquiring the *Decisiones aureae casuum conscientiae* by Giacomo Graffi and the *Christianae religionis arcana* by Tommaso Elisio.⁵⁶ Furthermore, he had included a treatise of moral theology by Domingo de Soto.⁵⁷ De Martino

⁵¹ ASN, Collegio dei dottori, busta 169, f. 115v. He was baptised on 2 June 1576 (busta 1, fascicolo 2, incartamento 123, f. 1).

⁵² "Breuiarium Romanum Pij V iussu editum. Impressum Venetijs, apud Iunctas, anno 1572. In foli 4": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 11225).

⁵³ "Ludolphus Carthusianus, In psalmis. In 4. Lugduni, anno 1542" (VL 11276, f. 324r).

⁵⁴ "Exponendi ad confessiones, si ea, de quibus interrogantur nosse cupiant, si non sint theologi et sententiaris non dent opera, videant diligenter, et attentae legant *Summam Angelicam* vel *Summam Siluestrinam*, vel *Summam Tabienam*, vel *Summam Antoninam* magnam, aut parvam, vel *Summam Rosellam* vel *Armillam*, vel *Summam Hostiensem*, *Summam Raymundi*, vel *Summam Pisanellam*, vel *supplementum*, vel *Summam Nauarri*, vel *Summam Caietanam*, vel *Summam Confessorum*", Antonucci, *Catechesis*, p. 39.

⁵⁵ "Summa Siluest. In 4. Venetijs, apud haeredes Petri de Huchini, 1587": VL 11276, f. 323v (CNCE 31337). "Summa Nauar. In 8. Lugdunij, apud Gulielmum Rouilium, 1587": VL 11276, f. 324r (SBN ANAE010908). "Summa armilla. In 16. Venetijs, apud Dominicum Nicolinum, an. 1582": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 20032) "Summula Caietani. In 8. Venetijs, ex typografia Ioannis Mariae de Lenis, 1581. In 8": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 16972).

⁵⁶ "Decisiones casuum conscientiae. In 4. Venetijs, ex officina Damiani Zenari, 1596. Authore Iacobo Graffio monaco cassinense": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 21524). "Arcana sacrae religionis. In 8. Venetijs, ex typografia Dominici Guerrei, 1569. Auth. Thoma Elisio dominicano": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 18072).

⁵⁷ "Sotus, In 4 Sent. In 4 fol. Apud Hieronimum Zenarium, anno 1584": VL 11276, f. 323v (CNCE 39909).

had no legal texts other than a copy of the resolutions of the Neapolitan Provincial Council of 1576.⁵⁸ The possession of such a text suggests he was an informed diocesan priest, but it does not qualify as academic reading. At points, however, De Martino's collection goes beyond his education and his profession. Saint Johannes Climacus's sermons occupied a space in between professional interest and personal devotion.⁵⁹ Even Petrarch found a place on de Martino's shelves.⁶⁰ Climacus and Petrarch were the closest thing to escapist literature in de Martino's collection: two enjoyable vernacular texts in a collection otherwise entirely devoted to sophisticated Latin works.

Ordained priests who had been through all the required stages of professional training did not always have book collections that were impressive in either size or quality. Father Santoro Moscarelli, a priest in Naples, listed only five titles, all of which related to his pastoral activity but in no way conformed to the prescriptions of the diocesan authorities. He had two old books useful in the preparation of sermons and two newer editions to support his performance of the sacraments, one by Tomaz de Chaves and one by Ange Delpas.⁶¹ If Moscarelli's proficiency in Latin was as meagre as this list suggests, then his professional training hardly met the expectations of his archbishop.⁶² Pastoral literature in the vernacular was rare in this period and would eventually encounter some serious problems with the Index.⁶³ Nonetheless, pastoral literature in

⁵⁸ "Synodus Neapolitana. In 4. Ex officina Saluiani, Neap., anno 1580": VL 11276, f. 324^r (CNCE 30856).

⁵⁹ VL 11276, f. 324^r (possibly: CNCE 30685).

⁶⁰ "Petrarca con il commento di Gesualdo. In 4. In Venetia, appresso Alessandro Griffio, anno 1581": VL 11276, f. 324^r (CNCE 47372).

⁶¹ "Homiliario quadragesimale del Pittorio di Ferrara. In Brescia, appresso Domenico Britanico, in 4 fogl., 1553": VL 11276, f. 322^v (CNCE 58372); in addition he had the "Dominicales clericorum. Venetijs, apud Franciscum Lindenum, in 8 fol. 1561": VL 11276, f. 322^v. "Summa sacramentorum di Tomaso di Caues. In Venetia, appresso Domenico Farri, in 8 fogli, 1591" (VL 11276, f. 322^v). "Trattato della preparatione del santissimo sacramento dell'altare composto da frate Angelo de Bas. In Roma, appresso Gulielmo Facetto, 1595. In 8 fol": VL 11276, f. 322^v (CNCE 35705).

⁶² Regarding the mandatory Latin language skills for an ordained priest in the diocese of Naples see *Acta et decreta synodi Neapolitanae* (Napoli: impensis Anelli Sanuiti, vaenundantur apud Antonium Baccolum ad insignae Aquilae, 1568), p. 120 and the *Auertimenti sopra gli ordinandi*, ff. 2v–3r.

⁶³ It could contain vernacular citations of the Holy Scriptures, which would be against the fourth rule of the Clementine Index: Gigliola Fragnito, "In questo vasto mare de libri prohibiti et sospesi tra tanti scogli di varietà et controversie: la censura ecclesiastica tra la fine del Cinquecento e i primi del Seicento", in *Censura ecclesiastica e cultura politica in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento. Atti del convegno—5 marzo 1999* ed. C. Stango (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 2001), pp. 14–5.

the vernacular was all Father Moscarelli could aspire to. His limited learning may also explain his systematic avoidance of casuistry authors.

The cultural distance between urban and provincial clergy could be very large. In rural clerical communities higher standing in the local hierarchy was not necessarily accompanied by greater cultural sophistication. Two presbyters of Gasperina, Giovanni Furciniti and Giuseppe Paluci, composed their list together: they had one breviary, one missal and three manuals for preaching and administering baptism.⁶⁴ This minimal collection served two priests in their daily service. The very fact that neither of them claimed the books as their personal possession implies that neither regarded the acquisition of printed texts a priority.

Marcello de Tozzo, vicar forane in Spadola, possessed nothing more than a Rosary, a devotional reading commonly used also by laypeople for spiritual exercises and a manual for administering penance, which is the sole item that distinguished him from his flock.⁶⁵ His personal collection consisted of no more than 700 pages of printed material, which does not accurately reflect the professional authority he had over his community. There is no reference in his collection to his appointment as vicar forane, nor do his books show familiarity with the diocesan or archdiocesan rules that he was supposed to enforce in the small peripheral parish he had been appointed to supervise.⁶⁶ However, the poverty of this collection is unique for priests of his rank.

Giovanni Silippo and Bernardino Michelotta, active as vicars forane in Gasperina and Bivongi respectively, possessed somewhat better collections, with twenty-five units held by the former and nineteen by the

⁶⁴ "Breviarium Romanum. Venet., apud Iuntas, ... 1580. In 8^o: VL 11276, f. 147^v (CNCE 11236). "Missale Romanum ex decreto sacro Concili Trident. Venet., apud Iuntas, 1570. In 4^o (VL 11276, f. 147^r). "Summa sacramentorum Ecclesiae ex doctrina f. Francisci a Victoria cui adiectus fuit catechismus Petrij Canisij theologi Societ. Iesu. Venet., per Franciscum Zittam, 1581. In 16. [...] Conciones quadragesimales Iulij Caesaris capucinj sacrae theologiae professi. Neapoli, apud Horatium Salvianum, 1581. In 4^o. ... Ordo baptizandi et alia sacramenta administrandi secundum ritum s. R.E. Venet., apud Dominicum Nicolinum, 1573. In 8^o: VL 11276, f. 147^v-148^r (respectively: CNCE 11032, 9057 and 11972).

⁶⁵ VL 11276, f. 138^r. "Rosarium b. Mariae Virg. authore f. Francesco Pisano inquisitore Venetianum. Absque principio et fine" (VL 11276, f. 138^r): the poor condition of the copy described ("Absque principio et fine") would suggest an old edition, perhaps pre-Tridentine. "Liber qui dicitur Del ben morire de consolatione poenitentium authore f. Bartholomeum de Angelo Neapolitano Ord. Praedic. Venet., per Hieronimum Polum, 1583. In 16" (VL 11276, f. 138^r).

⁶⁶ The earliest known constitutions of the diocese of Squillace were only published in 1675. However, the archdiocese of Cosenza held two synods (in 1579 and 1592) and had the instructions of both published soon after. For the synod of Squillace see SBN RMSE061544; for the two synods of Cosenza see CNCE 14020, 14021, 68994.

latter.⁶⁷ These were still far from highly valuable collections, in either quantitative or qualitative terms. Both collections follow the model we have already observed for an ordained priest, where titles of some humanistic interest sit side by side with language grammars, as a legacy of early schooling keeps company with a number of professional sources, including moral theology and canonical books. As curial officers they had to keep their Latin fresh, and books of eloquence would have provided them with authoritative examples derived from classical antiquity.⁶⁸

The sole new entry in this set of titles is a recent copy of the Bible, which is found in Michelotta's collection.⁶⁹ His eagerness for biblical texts appears to have driven Michelotta to break the Church's rules: in addition to the full text, Michelotta also owned an abridged version of the Bible, the *Figurae Bibliae* by the Augustinian friar Antonio Rampegollo, which was formally prohibited by the Spanish Index of 1580 and by the Roman Index of 1596.⁷⁰ Special permission to keep and use such mildly dangerous books could be obtained by consulting a bishop. It is unlikely that Michelotta had such permission, but he would not have hidden this from the Congregation of the Index when submitting a document which indicated that he possessed a forbidden book. Michelotta's candour suggests, given his position, a surprising ignorance of the censorship rules.

On average, the maximum number of books owned by this category of reader is around fifty units. Durando Varillario constituted a notable exception with his 132 units.⁷¹ Perhaps surprisingly, despite its exceptional size, Varillario's collection differed little from the holdings of his peers. These largest collections belonged to priests in the higher ranks of the secular clergy: all priests with thirty or more titles defined themselves as presbyters. The additional items in these larger collections are mainly volumes concerning canon and civil law. Giulio Cesare Grosso, a priest in Bivongi, proudly described his collection as scholarly: "Libri d. Iulij Grossi praesbit. Bivongen in iure canonico et sacra scriptura" (books of canon laws and Sacred Scriptures owned by Father Giulio Grosso, presbyter of

⁶⁷ VL 11276, f. 146v-147r. VL 11276, f. 140v-141v.

⁶⁸ This pattern is also visible in the collection of another curial officer, Brunone Bavaro, vicar forane of Serra, where works of eloquence and a compilation of legal formularies were listed in the same category, "libri humanj": VL 11276, f. 115v.

⁶⁹ "Biblia ad vetustissima nuper castigata Romaeque revisa. Venet., ex officina Iuntarum, 1599. Cum licentia summi pont. In 4^o" (VL 11276, f. 141v).

⁷⁰ "Figurea Bibliae aeditae per theologum fratrem Antonium de Rampegollis Ord. heremit. s. August. Deficit anno, impressionis loco et impressore" (VL 11276, f. 141r). Regarding the prohibition of this work see De Bujanda, *Index*, vol. 10, p. 332.

⁷¹ VL 11276, ff. 121v-128v.

Bivongi).⁷² Using terminology appropriate to the *Ratio Studiorum*, Giulio Cesare Grosso made no secret of his sophistication. He listed humanistic literature, which composed almost one third of all his collection, in a separate section entitled “Libri humani”.⁷³ Grosso recognised some contiguity between his canon law and theology texts, while he assigned a lower rank to his books of Latin literature. Scrolling down his list is like moving in reverse through a good *curriculum studiorum* of his time. The “libri humani” were the key to accessing any form of higher education; the sources of Catholic doctrine could get him close to the scientific curriculum of a college of arts; and his familiarity with part of the *Decreta* that constituted the *Corpus iuris canonici* would have left him not far from the level of doctor.⁷⁴ Even so, he was no doctor. His name does not show up in the “collegio dei dottori” of the University of Naples, and he surely would have informed the Congregation of the Index if he were a doctor in *utroque iure*, a master in arts, or a trained theologian.⁷⁵ The level of sophistication of Grosso’s collection reflected the *cursus major* in a good diocesan seminary, but not necessarily the proficient completion of that programme.⁷⁶

The cultural profile that emerges from the inventories of two priests of the church of Santa Maria Incoronata of Naples, Lucio de Luci (who was the vicar) and Girolamo Siniscalchi, is similar to that observed in Giulio Cesare Grosso’s collection.⁷⁷ Their catalogues display no traces of grammar school, yet their ordination suggests that they were proficient in Latin and had presumably attended a grammar programme in the past. Furthermore, they would have had little access to the casuistry literature

⁷² VL 11276, f. 141v.

⁷³ VL 11276, f. 142r.

⁷⁴ The collection of legal works owned by Giulio Grosso is composed of four volumes of the *Decretals* (CNCE 13396), two commentaries (CNCE 28078 and 31189) and a copy of the *Council of Trent* (CNCE 13039). See VL 11276, ff. 141v–142r.

⁷⁵ Displaying academic titles was a way of acquiring respect, or more lenient treatment, when addressing a Congregation of cardinals. Academic titles were often displayed by the laypeople who submitted their lists to the Congregation of the Index. To limit my examples to the lists contained in the *Vaticanus Latinus* 11276 alone, see VL 11276, ff. 214r, 216r, 227r and 234r.

⁷⁶ Giancarlo Angelozzi, ‘L’insegnamento dei casi di coscienza nella pratica educativa della Compagnia di Gesù’, in *La «Ratio studiorum»: modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento* ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981), pp. 121–62. Regarding the possibility of earning a doctoral degree in a diocesan seminary of the Viceroyalty of Naples see the stipulation of the synod of Salerno of 1579: *Constitutiones editae, a M. Antonio Marsilio Columna archiepiscopo Salernitano, in dioecesana synodo. Celebrata Salerni Non. Maji. MDLXXIX* (Neapoli: ex officina Sailuiana, 1580), pp. 88 (SBN BVEE007903).

⁷⁷ VL 11276, f. 320r and VL 11276, f. 321v.

they possessed if they could not read Latin. The same could be said for the small collection of civil and canon laws they owned. They were not alone in this regard: Stefano Regna, also a priest in Santa Maria Incoronata, had not kept any of the Latin authors he must have studied in the past. Profane literature was no doubt necessary for access to the sacred orders, but it was profane literature after all and could be discarded once studies were completed. While canon law overlapped with the *cursus major* designed by the Jesuitical school and followed by diocesan seminaries, civil law was very different. The presence of juridical sources in de Luci's and Siniscalchi's collections is then compatible with an academic curriculum. More specifically, the legal literature possessed by de Luci consists of copies of the *Corpus iuris civilis*⁷⁸ and the *Corpus iuris canonici*.⁷⁹ The basic texts of both legal systems are accompanied by a small number of commentators such as Bartolo da Sassoferrato, Giasone del Maino and Bartolomeo Socini.⁸⁰ The presence of these scholars of the Italian legal school separates de Luci's collection from the rising French legal humanism labelled *mos gallicus*.⁸¹ A manual of legal procedures completed the juridical collection.⁸² This small selection of authors matches almost perfectly the minimum requirement of a law school.⁸³ Del Maino's manual of legal procedure suggests, by contrast, on-going legal practice in civil courts. There is an evident imbalance in de Luci's collection in favour of civil law. The *Corpus iuris canonici* was supported by one commentator alone, Filippo Decio.⁸⁴ Diocesan affairs could occupy a middle ground between legal practice and pastoral care, and indeed, de Luci had

⁷⁸ "Textus i. c. cum gloss. in quinque tom. distincti. In fol. Impressi Lugdunij, cum Rubi signi, ann. 1569, ex officina Q. Philippi T. apud Symphorianum Beraudum": VL 11276, f. 320r (SBN RLZE018817).

⁷⁹ "Tex. iuris canonici in tribus volum distincti cum gloss. In 4 fol. Impressi a Simeone Vincenti, anno 1528, non adest nomen ciuitatis ubi fuere impressi." (VL 11276, f. 320r).

⁸⁰ "Bartolus a Saxoferrato in X vol. distinctus. Impressus in fol. Lugd., cum insignis Leoncini, in anno 1567. In fol." (VL 11276, f. 320r). "Iason de' Mayno, Super ciuilibus in 8 uolvm. distinctus. Venetijs, apud Iunctas, in fol. ann. 1579" (VL 11276, f. 320r). "Bartholomeus Socinus super ii. et c. in 2 uolvm. dist. Impressus apud Iacobum Iuncta, in fol., anno 1532" (VL 11276, f. 320r).

⁸¹ On this matter see Micheal L. Monhett, 'Guillaume Budé, Andrea Alciato, Pierre de l'Estoile: Renaissance Interpreters of Roman law', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58 (1997), pp. 21–40.

⁸² "Iason et Homerius, De actionibus. In fol. Impressi 1582, nascitur impressor Veium est impressum Venetijs": VL 11276, f. 320r (possibly CNCE 16681).

⁸³ Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 432–33, 466.

⁸⁴ "Decius, In ius can. Impressus Romae, in fol., 1579, apud Franciscum Zanettum": VL 11276, f. 320r (CNCE 16321).

diligently saved a copy of the records of the archdiocesan council held in 1572.⁸⁵

Siniscalchi's collection is incomplete. He possessed a copy of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* but no canon law.⁸⁶ His preference for civil over canon law is confirmed by the presence of sentences of the Vice-Royal Council of Naples, a legal source of local interest that is infrequently found in the book collections of his colleagues.⁸⁷

Presences and Absences

Latin grammar and moral theology are the subject areas most strongly represented in the collections of the diocesan clergy. Their presence was largely dictated by educational and professional needs and responded to specific prescriptions of diocesan authorities. The *curriculum studiorum* promoted by post-Tridentine reformers was intended to repair a critical situation. Outstanding diocesan clergy were rare, and the most promising pastors were encouraged to earn a doctoral degree by pursuing the *cursus major* in a good seminary. But the main concern was to provide the pastoral class with the rudiments that would enable them to carry out their profession. A small number of priests in the sample owned a book collection that suggested academic training, mostly oriented to legal studies.⁸⁸ Despite the sophistication of their book acquisitions, few of these clergy met the expectations of the Church's elite in the aftermath of Trent. For example, the Jesuitical *cursus major* made scholastic theology, with particular reference to Thomas Aquinas and Pietro Lombardo, a principal component of its curriculum,⁸⁹ yet these two authors are seldom found here. A copy of Aquinas's *Summa totius theologiae* was owned by Roberto Bruni, a priest in Naples who also demonstrated some interest in the theology of Scotus.⁹⁰ St Thomas Aquinas appears also in the collection of

⁸⁵ "Acta et decreta dictae synodi archiepiscopi Marij Carrafae. Ex officina Salviana, in 4 fol., 1580": VL 11276, f. 320v (CNCE 30856).

⁸⁶ VL 11276, f. 322r.

⁸⁷ "Decisiones Matthei de Afflictis. In 8 fol. Impressae Venetijs, 1552": VL 11276, f. 322r (possibly CNCE 24687).

⁸⁸ Scholars have noted an increase in the enrolment and graduation of parish priests in academic institutions because of the Council of Trent and its promotion of the cultural formation of the secular clergy. See Ileana Del Bagno, *Legum doctores: la formazione del ceto giuridico a Napoli tra Cinque e Seicento* (Naples: Jovene, 1993), pp. 17–23.

⁸⁹ Angelozzi, 'L'insegnamento dei casi di coscienza', p. 135.

⁹⁰ VL 11276, f. 323r (CNCE 50911). "Scotus, Super Sententijs. Venetijs, apud heredes Melchioris Sessae, 1585. In 8 fol." VL 11276, f. 323r.

Iacopo Lugara, a presbyter in Serra.⁹¹ The book collections of the southern Italian clergy are full of works of moral theology, a crucial part of their profession, yet these priests often neglected the primary sources of scholastic theology, choosing instead the mediated contact that casuistry literature could provide. When key authors of scholastic theology are present, they do not appear within a context that would suggest a marked interest or strong academic training in theology.

Philosophical expertise also played a primary role in the didactic programme of diocesan seminaries.⁹² Philosophical texts are, however, very seldom found in this sample. Lorenzo Gaudini, a priest in Naples, possessed a copy of Aristotle's *La meteora* (*The Meteor*) with commentary by Thomas Aquinas.⁹³ His interest in Aristotle was no doubt amateur; the copy he possessed, a vernacular edition *in octavo*, was an inexpensive publication for a popular audience. Fabrizio Verdesca, a deacon in Naples, is a peculiar case: his collection was almost entirely dedicated to an advanced course of philosophy in which physics was better represented than logic or metaphysics.⁹⁴ Verdesca's collection is significant in both its size and quality. Thirty-six books, mostly representative of the standard

⁹¹ "S. Thomae de Aquino Opus cum litteris Ioannis papae. Venet., 1497, tacito impresore" (VL 11276, f. 145r). For this year we know of the following editions: ISTC itoo172000, itoo202000 and itoo207000.

⁹² De Maio, *Origini*, p. 14.

⁹³ VL 11276, f. 119r (CNCE 2945).

⁹⁴ VL 11276, f. 325r-v: "Perrerus, In Phisica. Venetijs, 1586, apud Andream Muschium. In 4 fol." (CNCE 31406); "Niphus, De coelo et mundo. Venetijs, 1553, apud Iunctas. In fol." (CNCE 48432); "Simplicius, De coelo et mundo. Venetijs, 1548, apud Hieronimum Scotum. In fol." (CNCE 31746); "Auerroes, De coelo et mundo. Lugdunij, 1542, apud Iunctas. In 8 fol." (SBN BVEE021797); "Toletus, De generatione et corrup. Venetijs, 1590, apud Iunctas. In 4 fol." (CNCE 28153); "Niphus, De Generatione et corruptione. Venetijs, 1560, apud Octavianum Scotum, in fol. [...] D. Thomas, In libros Meteorologicorum. Venetijs, 1571, apud Hieronimum Scotum. In fol. [...] D. Thomas, De coelo et mundo. Venetijs, 1516, apud Iunctas. In fol." VL 11276, f. 325r-v: "Toletus, In Logica. Venetijs, 1593, apud Simonem Cornettum et fratres. In 4 fol." (CNCE 25084); "Pauli Veneti Logica. Venetijs, 1572, apud Ioannem Antonium Bertanum. In 8 fol." (CNCE 32733); "Caietanus, In Logicam et De ente et essentia. Lugduni, 1560, apud Sebastianum Honoratum. In 8 fol." (SBN UMiE000785); "Boetius, In Logicam. Venetijs, 1553, apud Ioannem Grifium. In fol." (CNCE 6566); "Organum Arist. Venetijs, 1545, apud Hieronimum Scotum. In 8 fol." (CNCE 2918); "Introductiones Toleti in Aristotelis Dialecticam." VL 11276, f. 325r-v: "D. Thomas, In libros De anima. Venetijs, 1518, apud haeredes Octaviani Scoti. In fol." (CNCE 33068); "Marcus Antonius Genua, In libros De anima. Venetijs, 1576, apud Damianum Zenarum et socios. In fol." (CNCE 20673); "Toletus, De anima. Venetijs, 1592, apud Iunctas. In 4 fol." (CNCE 28167). Regarding the link between Aristotle's *De Anima* and spiritual physics and, in consequence, moral theology, see Katharine Park, 'The Concept of Psychology', in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* ed. Charles B. Schmitt et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 455-63.

philosophy course within a master of arts, are largely informed by the tradition of the University of Naples.⁹⁵ Pastoral texts are in the minority in his collection. Overall, Verdesca seems to have been a careful collector. His choices were guided by scholarly interest rather than professional necessity. His acquisition of books relevant to his pastoral profession must therefore have corresponded to what he, like his superiors, perceived as the minimum requirements for a priest of his social-financial standing who could afford to acquire printed material. The section of his inventory dedicated to theological works reads less like the list of a diligent seminararian of Naples and more like the limited collection of a pastoral care practitioner: liturgical texts are non-existent in a literary selection that is not, however, completely deficient in moral theology.⁹⁶

Another remarkable absence in these collections are the rules mandated by the Council of Trent. The conciliar decrees, together with provincial and diocesan edicts that followed, were intended as the binding rules of the Catholic Reformation. Their diffusion, especially among the ranks of the secular clergy, enables us to measure the effective spread of the principles of the moral-religious reformation itself. Let us start by mapping the dissemination of the principal source of this kind: the *Canons of the Council of Trent*. In the parish church of Santa Maria Incoronata in Naples, three out of eleven priests owned a copy of the text: Pietro Antonio, Girolamo Siniscalchi and Scipione Petra (who even possessed two copies).⁹⁷ In Casalnuovo, the parson and the sub-deacon Silvestro Lucchetta had one copy each.⁹⁸ In Calabria, Giulio Grosso, presbyter of Bivongi, and Andrea Lugara, deacon of Montauro both owned a copy.⁹⁹ Serra is the most virtuous case; there the *Canons of the Council of*

⁹⁵ The most frequently recurring text in Verdesca's collection is Aristotle's *De coelo et mundo*, a book which in Naples was honoured with the creation of an academic chair dedicated to its systematic study (see Torrecca, *Storia*, p. 302). Additionally, Verdesca's preference for Agostino Nifo's commentaries on Aristotle's work provides further evidence: Nifo was instated at the University of Naples in 1531, leaving behind a durable tradition (see *ibid.*).

⁹⁶ VL 11276, f. 325r: "Summa d. Thomae diuina in sex volumina. Venetijs, apud Iunctas, 1588. In fol. ... Dominicus Durandus, Super 4 libros Sententiarum. Venetijs, 1586, apud Gasparum Bindonem. In fol. ... Petrus de Aquila, Super quatuor libros Sententiarum. Venetijs, 1584, apud Hyeronimum Zenarium et fratres. In 4 fol." (respectively: SBN BVEE015483, CNCE 17918, 47418). Verdesca's selection of pastoral literature was completed by a handy textbook for preparation for the examination for admission to sacred orders, namely, Fabio Incarnato's *Scrutinium sacerdotale* (CNCE 30542).

⁹⁷ Respectively, VL 11276, ff. 323r, 321v and 324v.

⁹⁸ VL 11276, f. 222v and VL 11276, f. 223r.

⁹⁹ VL 11276, f. 142r and VL 11276, f. 144v.

Trent was disseminated among all the ranks of the local clergy: the vicar forane Bruno Bavaro, the three priests Lorenzo Gaudini, Giovanni Antonio Varillario and Domenico Campisi, and the two clerics Virgilio Campisi and Vespasiano Raffaele all had copies.¹⁰⁰ In Spadola, only Giovanni Villa declared that he owned a personal copy.¹⁰¹ Fourteen matches in a sample of thirty-six ecclesiastics representative of various ranks of the diocesan clergy and located in urban and rural areas would have been a fairly satisfactory result but not ideal. With at least one copy of the *Canons of the Council of Trent* present in every community, theoretically there was enough material to bring knowledge of the canons to all members of these communities. Books, after all, even when privately owned, could be shared, multiplying the consumption and diffusion of a given text.¹⁰² It is nonetheless surprising that more than thirty years after its publication, this text did not appear in the majority of the collections of diocesan priests, who were its target audience. No less significant is the fact that six out of nine copies present in this sample were a fairly old edition, from circa 1570, providing some evidence that this particular title tended to stagnate, rather than circulate, in the local market.¹⁰³

The presence of the *Canons of the Council of Trent* in the collections of one deacon and one sub-deacon indicates a growing concern among the newest ranks of the secular clergy for what they regarded as the primary source of the Catholic Reformation. The absence of this item among the higher ranks of the clergy, however, makes evident how slowly the process of reform was advancing in some peripheral areas of Italy. Just to highlight three examples: the vicar of Santa Maria Incoronata in Naples, the vicar forane of Bivongi and the vicar forane of Gasperina were morally obliged if not formally appointed to make the religious communities they led conform to the canons of Trent, but none of them possessed a copy of the rules they were supposed to apply.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the dissemination of the acts of diocesan synods and provincial councils, although some preliminary speculation is necessary. These legal sources were official means of self-regulation and, therefore, internal reformation of the dioceses, and formally they had only local impact. It is thus plausible that their diffusion

¹⁰⁰ Respectively, VL 11276, ff. 115v, 116v, 119v, 129r, 131v and 133v.

¹⁰¹ VL 11276, f. 138v.

¹⁰² Dynamics of book sharing can be conceived intuitively but are also sometimes documented; see for example VL 11286, f. 230r.

¹⁰³ For later editions of the decrees of the Council of Trent see CNCA 3434.

was highly localised. Furthermore, *peculiar dioceses*, like that examined here, were the least profitable places to hunt for legal sources of this kind, as *peculiar dioceses* were outside the jurisdiction of bishops and therefore mostly impermeable to diocesan norms. However, the application of the resolutions of the Council of Trent in peripheral areas partially relied on the continued attempt of the diocesan authorities to extend their religious jurisdiction, as can be read from the *relations ad limina* forwarded to the Congregation of the Council by southern Italian bishops.¹⁰⁴ This dynamic had an impact on several of the *peculiar dioceses* examined in this chapter: the presence of vicars forane in the rural communities under the jurisdiction of the Charterhouse of Serra San Bruno in Calabria is evidence of a co-operative relationship with a nearby episcopal *curia* (most probably of Squillace).¹⁰⁵ It is also documented that the Charterhouse of Padula suffered from the intrusive attention of the bishop of Capaccio, mostly in regard to the monastery's feudal possessions.¹⁰⁶ Although *peculiar dioceses* and diocesan rules were generally incompatible, the free circulation of synodal decrees was part of a virtuous trade of ideas that involved all Italian dioceses, for the example provided by successful diocesan reformers could then be used to promote similar reforms locally.¹⁰⁷ The data in this study, however, suggest that the circulation of synodal decrees did not achieve this goal. Lorenzo de Martino, vice-parish priest of Santa Maria Incoronata, and his priest Girolamo Siniscalchi possessed a copy of the 1576 synodal decrees of the archdiocese of Naples.¹⁰⁸ Despite its direct connections with the Charterhouse of Naples, Santa Maria Incoronata was still subject to the provincial authority of the archdiocese of Naples. Surprisingly, only two copies circulated among the local clergy. It is likewise surprising that this parish church did not have any copies of the *Acta et decreta Synodi Neapolitanae* of 1567.¹⁰⁹

The absence of such legal sources in rural areas is noticeable. There are few exceptions. Bernardo Michelotta, vicar forane of Bivongi, had a copy

¹⁰⁴ Adriana Di Leo, 'Il sinodo inedito dell'abate Fabrizio Caracciolo di Angelo a Fasanella (1594)', in *Il Concilio di Trento*, p. 618.

¹⁰⁵ During the late Cinquecento the feudal possession of the Charterhouse of Serra San Bruno received attention from the bishop of Squillace, which generated a controversy that landed with the Congregation of the Council: see *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Congregazione del Concilio, Positiones 13, f. 619r-v.

¹⁰⁶ Di Leo, 'Il sinodo inedito dell'abate Fabrizio Caracciolo', p. 619.

¹⁰⁷ On this matter see Giuseppe M. Viscardi, 'Analisi comparata dei sinodi borromeiani con i contemporanei sinodi meridionali', in *Il Concilio di Trento*, pp. 99-118.

¹⁰⁸ VL 11276, f. 322v, 324r and f. 320v.

¹⁰⁹ CNCE 30551.

of the acts of the diocesan synod held in Mileto in 1591. This endowment was peculiar: documents suggest that Michelotta reported to the bishop of Squillace rather than the bishop of Mileto. It is hard to believe that Michelotta, eager to study foreign dioceses' legal sources, would have chosen the less influential model of Mileto.

Also worthy of comment is the scarcity of sacred scriptures within these collections. The secular clergy of the second half of the sixteenth century received contradictory messages regarding the Holy Scriptures. Their use was formally encouraged by post-Tridentine pedagogy,¹¹⁰ but also indirectly discouraged by the repression of vernacular bibles and biblical commentaries, which were often of disputable orthodoxy. Several versions of the Bible were included in local and universal indices, leading to widespread concern among the reading public.¹¹¹ This dynamic is reflected in the material acquisitions of the southern Italian secular clergy. In the small community of Serra, a Bible appears in the collections of Vespasiano Raffaele and Virgilio Campisi, both clerics, and in the collection of the priest Durando Varillario and in that of Brunone Bavaro, a vicar forane.¹¹² In Bivongi, the vicar forane Bernardino Michelotta and the priest Giulio Grosso also possessed the scriptures, while in Montauero only the deacon Andrea Lugara owned them.¹¹³ In the parish of Casalnuovo, Annibale Matteo, a priest, had a copy of the Psalms of David, but not the whole biblical text.¹¹⁴ Eight out of thirty-two clergymen owned a Bible, often incomplete (either the New Testament alone or the Psalms) and generally an older edition, which could arouse suspicions of textual heterodoxy. Surely each member of these communities would have been able to borrow a copy from a colleague or use the copy in the parish church. In Santa Maria

¹¹⁰ "Habeant clerici qui commode praestare id possunt vtrumque testamentum, Romanum Catechismum, sacrosanctum Conc. Trid." (*Constitutiones, et decreta prouincialis Synodi Neapolitanae*, p. 43).

¹¹¹ Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, pp. 315–30.

¹¹² Vespasiano Raffaele had the *Testamenti Noui, editio Vulgata*, SBN CFIE001788 (VL 11276, f. 133v); Virgilio Campisi possessed an old edition of the *New Testament* (ibid., 131v); Durando Varillario and Brunone Bavaro each owned a copy of the Bible (SBN BVEE016181 and SBN CFIE001697. See VL 11276, ff. 121r and 115r).

¹¹³ Michelotta declared his possession of a newly printed Vulgate dated 1599 (VL 11276, f. 141r); Giulio Grosso had an edition published in Lyon in 1573 (VL 11276, f. 142v; see USTC 141032); Lugara had an old edition of the Bible whose frontispiece and colophon had been removed: "Biblia sacra. Absque principio et fine. In 4^o" (VL 11276, f. 144v).

¹¹⁴ "Una Salmista. Composta in Venetia, apud heredes Petri Rabani et socios, mense Aprili 1555": VL 11276, f. 239r. This would seem to be an old vernacular abridged edition of the Bible (see, for example, CNCE 5898) whose possession was strictly forbidden by Catholic censorship. On this matter see Gigliola Fragnito, "Dichino corone e rosarii": censura ecclesiastica e libri di devozione, *Cheiron* 17 (2000), pp. 135–58.

Incoronata, for example, none of the clergy listed the Bible in their inventories or at least not a copy they believed permitted, but the Holy Scriptures were available in the church.¹¹⁵ The same cannot be said for Casalnuovo, where the local clergy had no bibles at all, and the church itself was endowed only with books of choral chant.¹¹⁶ In Casalnuovo, the local clergy may have needed to borrow an old edition of the New Testament from Giovanni Tommaso Zambrotta, presumably a layperson.¹¹⁷ In other words, the Holy Scriptures were not central to the secular clergy's reading habits.

Among the lower ranks of the clergy, acquisitions corresponded to the requirements of primary schooling, with a few liturgical manuals. Among the higher clergy, schoolbooks had been superseded, if not physically replaced, by casuistry manuals. These collections seldom included works of scholastic theology or legal studies.

However refined, none of these collections fit the expectations raised by modern historiography and literary critique. Perhaps the most striking

¹¹⁵ VL 11276, f. 326r. By the time the inventory was composed at least two bibles present in the parish church of Santa Maria Incoronata had been sequestered: "Biblia sacra. Apud Io. Toresium, Lugduni impressa, in 8° folio, 1558" and "Biblia sacra. In 4°. Venetij, apud heredes Hieronimi Polo, 1583": VL 11276, f. 326r, 264r. The first entry can be associated with the following edition: *Biblia sacra ad optima quaeque veteris, vt vocant, tralationis exemplaria summa diligentia, parique fide castigata. Cum indicibus copiosissimis*, Lugduni, apud Ioan. Tornaesium, 1558 (SBN TOoEo49374). This edition was not explicitly forbidden, but another edition dated 1567 by the same printer was forbidden (see De Bujanda, *Index*, vol. 10, p. 746). One could argue that for the editor's name to be associated with a forbidden version of the Bible was sufficient for his works to be requisitioned. It is not clear why the second copy in this entry was seized (*ibid.*, p. 747).

¹¹⁶ "Graduale secundum morem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae. Ven., 1544. Antifonarium Eccl. Rom. Ven., apud Petrum Liechtenstein Agrippinensem, 1558": *ibid.*, f. 247v.

¹¹⁷ "Il Testamento novo. Stampato in Venetia, 1539": VL 11276, f., f. 240v. This is probably the vernacular Bible translated by Antonio Brucioli and printed by Federico Torresano in 1539 (CNCE 5764); five elements match: title, language, year, city of print and, most importantly, the missing name of the printer in both the item and the edition's title page (a rare absence of editorial data in an otherwise thorough inventory). If my identification is correct, its presence signals a failure of local censorial institutions. Not only were vernacular bibles explicitly forbidden, but Antonio Brucioli's name was also well known in inquisitorial circles. See A. del Col, 'Il controllo della stampa a Venezia e i processi di Antonio Brucioli (1548–1559)', *Critica storica* 17 (1980), pp. 498–503; A. Landi, 'A proposito di Antonio Brucioli', *Archivio storico italiano* 149 (1988), pp. 331–9; I. Paccagnella, 'La "Bibbia Brucioli." Note linguistiche sulla traduzione del "Nuovo testamento" del 1530', *Omaggio a Gianfranco Folena* (Padua: Programma, 1993), pp. 1075–87; S. Seidel Menchi, 'La circzione clandestina di Erasmo in Italia. I casi di A. Brucioli e M. Andreasi', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 3 (1979), pp. 576–84; G. Spini, *Tra rinascimento e riforma*, *Antonio Brucioli* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1940); M. Ventura Avanzinelli, 'Il "luterano" Brucioli e il suo commento al libro della Genesi', *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 159 (1986), pp. 19–33.

absence from the collections examined here are the works that might be deemed the most important achievements of Renaissance culture. Independent literary choices appear to have been added only rarely to works that were educational or professional requirements. Petrarch appears here and there as an exception to an otherwise standardised literary model. However, Petrarch's works were often integrated into Latin training curricula.¹¹⁸ Only the anthology of Petrarch's poetry owned by Lorenzo de Martino does not fall into this category.¹¹⁹ This title was categorized by its owner as part of his "libri volgari" (vernacular works) and may have functioned as escapist literature within a collection otherwise dominated by pastoral manuals.

If Petrarch's name was not always synonymous with cultural idiosyncrasy, the books owned by the parson of Casalnuovo offer a different perspective. Personal curiosity can be the sole explanation for why the parson chose to own a copy of the *Historia de' successori di Alessandro Magno*, a title printed for a popular audience.¹²⁰ There was likewise no apparent professional reason for his possession of the *Cronica del gran regno del Perù* and of the popular treatise by Columella *De l'agricoltura libri XII*.¹²¹ Similarly, Giovanni Silippo, presbyter and vicar forane of Gasperina, had no professional motivation to acquire John Holywood's *Sphera*¹²² along with a popular vernacular manual of mathematics.¹²³ An amateur interest in science is the only reasonable explanation for these holdings.

It is only in the higher echelons of the secular clergy that one finds signs of a personal book collecting strategy. The evidence indicates that these last cases are exceptions in a landscape dominated by cultural uniformity. Seldom do we find collections that are not completely built on the foundations of schooling or the clerical profession; even then, very few of the

¹¹⁸ On Lorenzo Gaudini's bookshelves Petrarch sat next to Latin authors in the section labelled "Libri humani" (VL 11276, 119r); in Durando Varillario's inventory Petrarch was listed under "libri grammatices" (VL 11276, 126v).

¹¹⁹ "Petrarca con il commento di Gesualdo. In 4. In Venetia, appresso Alessandro Griffio, anno 1581": VL 11276, f. 324r (CNCE 47372).

¹²⁰ VL 11276, f. 222r (see CNCE 39994). The dissemination of this title in the Italian market can be seen from the following records: CNCE 1451, 1461, 1459, 1462, 1464, 1465, 1467, 1468, 1470, 1396, 1409, 1411, 1429, 1428, 1426.

¹²¹ VL 11276, f. 222r (CNCE 12534 and 12850).

¹²² "Sphera Ioannis de sacrobusto. Venet., apud Franciscum Rampazetum, 1564. In 4^o: VL 11276, f. 147v (CNCE 49808).

¹²³ "Ars metrica. Venet., apud Augustinum Bindonem, 1536. In 8^o: VL 11276, f. 147v (possibly CNCE 18698).

titles in these collections suggest that their owners were open to wider horizons.¹²⁴

Conclusions

The synod held in 1619 by Bishop de Matta for the diocese of Capaccio (hinterland of Salerno) provided advice for the cultural formation of the secular clergy. De Matta narrowed down the reading prescribed for his clergy to the reformed Roman Catechism and Francisco Toledo's *Instructio sacerdotum*.¹²⁵ "The *Catechism* and a little of Toledo" were the words used by Giacomo Ostuzza in his address to the inquisitor, as reported at the start of this chapter. The bishop of Capaccio and the parson of Pantianicco seemed to agree on their humble ambitions for a priest's education.

The evidence discussed here suggests, however, that the situation was not always as gloomy as these two clergymen suggested. The average priest had rudimentary Latin, which would have given him access to the professional manuals gathered during his career. Such a parish priest would fit neither the modern definition of an intellectual nor the pre-modern definition of a man of letters. Nevertheless, such priests were among the few professionals that the Congregation of the Index searched out when hunting for books. As the quantitative data reported in figure 10.1-6 reveals, the priesthood was, after all, a bookish profession. The correlation between social-professional status and ranking by book ownership followed an obvious pattern: exposure to the European book market greatly influenced communities of readers. When searching for printed material in the village of Serra (Figure 10.1), investigators would naturally look to the parish priest, who could rely on ecclesiastical channels of distribution that linked him to the Republic of Letters even when he was operating in the remote, mountainous region of *Calabria Ultra*. That situation was not mirrored in other geographic contexts. Casalnuovo

¹²⁴ Durando Varillario's collection is a valuable example. In this collection those books that are not professionally oriented were the aforementioned Petrarch, plus a copy of Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*, an anthology of Spanish poetry (VL 11276, f. 126v) and Lucio Fauno's popular work *Delle antichità della città di Roma* (VL 11276, f. 126r, CNCE 35222). These four works were in a collection of 132 books largely constituted by manuals of moral theology, Latin authors and Latin grammars. It contains the only Greek grammar in the sample under analysis: "Io. Vincentij Samnitis Neapolitanj Artis Gramaticae methodus. Impress. Neap., per Io. Paulum Sukanappum, anno 1549. In folio 8^o": VL 11276, f. 127v (CNCE 34298).

¹²⁵ Adriana Di Leo, 'I sinodi diocesani di Capaccio', *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa*, 1 (1972), p. 110.

(Figure 10.6) was a centre with commensurably greater exposure to the book market than Calabria. There neither the parish priest nor the parson had a monopoly on book ownership; their collections were overshadowed by those of other professionals such as legal practitioners.

In sum, priests had books, but they did not always possess all the basic literature an enthusiastic Catholic reformer would have wished. Cases of excellence are not completely absent, though they are extraordinary in rural areas. A doctor in *utroque iure* could be found within the ranks of the secular clergy, but only in the university city of Naples. Surprisingly, when choosing between the two disciplines that constituted a degree in *utroque*, canon law and civil law, a parish priest would rather specialise in the latter, as if theology could earn one a scholarship, but only a good training in civil law would help one rise through the social ranks.

Furthermore, the book collections of the parish priests largely met the expectations of the fathers of Trent, except in one striking detail: a parish priest would rather not purchase a copy of the canons issued by the Council of Trent. The legal texts of the Catholic Reformation were not objects of a vital and virtuous circulation. Certainly the reformed breviary was widely used—it would have been a problem if it were not, since older editions were formally forbidden—but local or ecumenical councils were not present for the most part in the collections of the secular clergy. This factor reinforces the perception of a process of religious reform that struggled to advance, especially the more one moves away from centres such as Rome or the archdiocese of Naples.

Appendix

The X axis in the figures on the next two pages refers to all the vassals intercepted by the survey conducted by the Congregation of the Index within the fiefs of the charterhouses; the Y axis displays the number of titles inventoried for each private book collection. The gray color refers to laypeople who did not declare an ecclesiastic affiliation. My choice to report all the data relative to clergymen and laypeople alike should encourage a comparative-quantitative reading of the collections represented in figures 10.1 to 10.6.

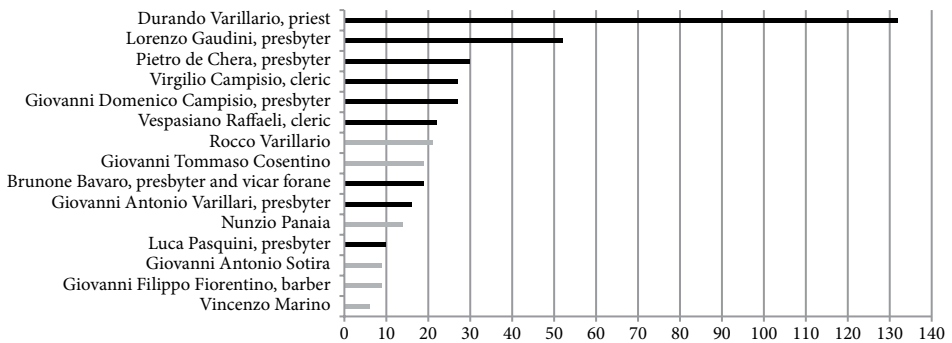


Figure 10.1. Quantitative distribution of the book collections in the community of Serra, fief of the Charterhouse of Santo Stefano.

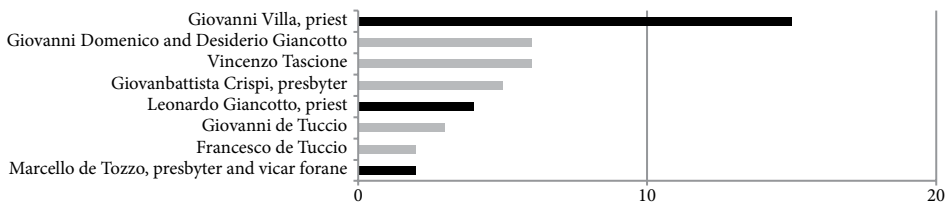


Figure 10.2. Quantitative distribution of the book collections in the community of Spadola, fief of the Charterhouse of Santo Stefano.



Figure 10.3. Quantitative distribution of the book collections in the community of Bivongi, fief of the Charterhouse of Santo Stefano.

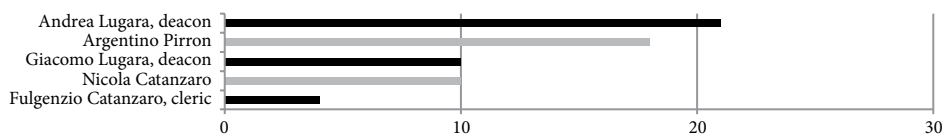


Figure 10.4. Quantitative distribution of the book collections in the community of Montauro, fief of the Charterhouse of Santo Stefano.

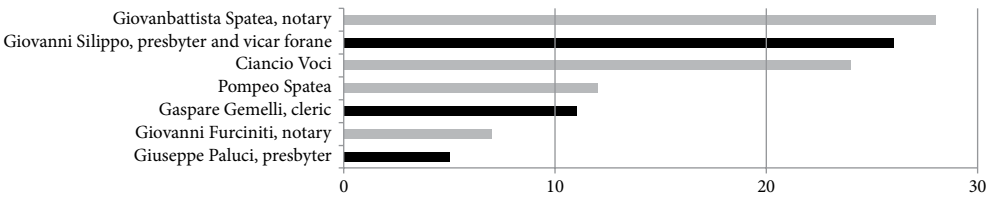


Figure 10.5. Quantitative distribution of the book collections in the community of Gasperina, fief of the Charterhouse of Santo Stefano.

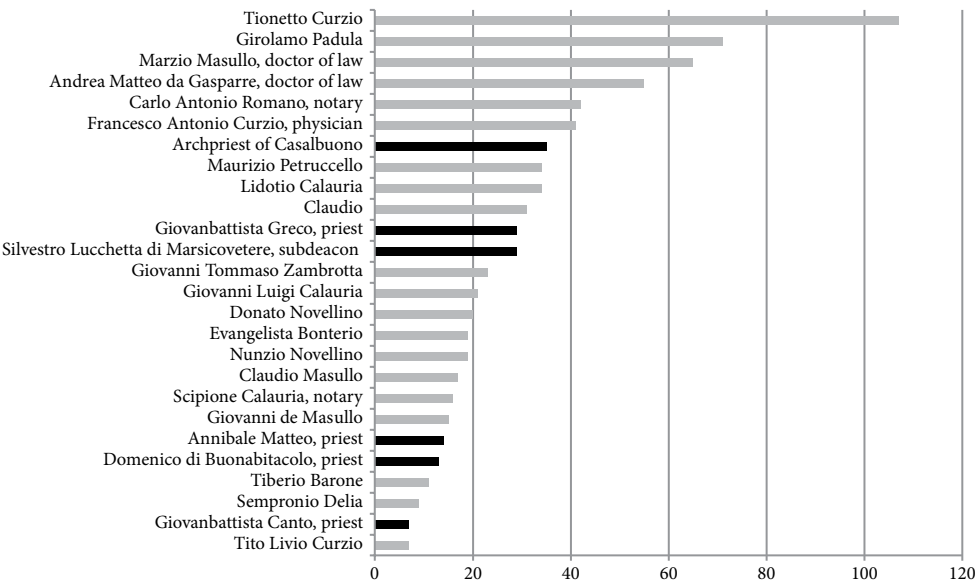


Figure 10.6. Quantitative distribution of the book collections in the community of Casalnuovo, fief of the Charterhouse of San Lorenzo in Padula.

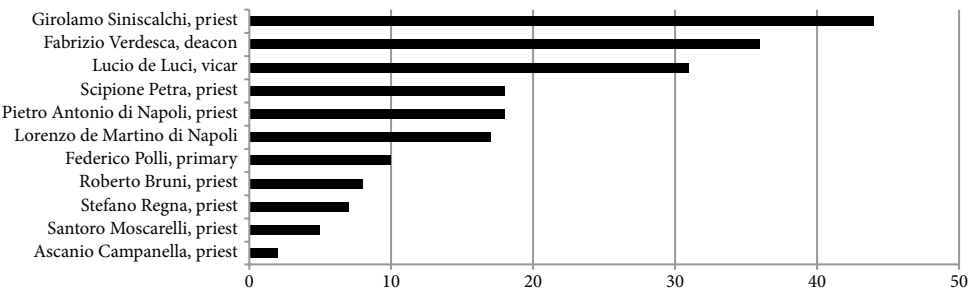


Figure 10.7. Quantitative distribution of the book collections in Santa Maria Incoronata (Naples), parish church under the jurisdiction of the Charterhouse of San Martino.

PART FOUR
THE BOOKTRADE

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE BOOK INVENTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY KRAKOW BOOKBINDER, MACIEJ PRZYWILCKI

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba

In the sixteenth century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Krakow was the principal printing centre, dominating other, smaller publishing towns that were much more modest than the capital of the multinational state. Out of an estimated 7,000 editions printed in the sixteenth century in the territory occupied by the combined realms of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a majority, some 3,800, were produced by Krakow printers, making the city a leading and unrivalled centre of typography in the *Respublica Poloniae et Lithuaniae*.¹ Krakow's size, importance and location constituted the primary reasons why the new *ars artificialiter scribendi* was already introduced to the city by 1473 and why the presses continued to prosper here in the sixteenth century. Krakow was one of the few major centres of urban life in a largely rural region, the seat of secular and church authorities and (since 1364) a university town linked by a network of intellectual connections with virtually all other European countries. Krakow was well situated at the junction of important trade routes: one to the north and south, connecting Bohemia, Hungary and Italy with the provinces of Great Poland, Pomerania (notably Poznan, Torun and Gdansk) and the Baltics, and the other linking Germany and Silesia with Red Russia (current day Ukraine), Transylvania, the shores of the Black Sea and the Ottoman Empire.² Even though in the sixteenth century new trade routes appeared within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that bypassed Krakow, old, medieval roads maintained part of their significance. Therefore, the Commonwealth's capital remained an important economic centre and local merchants sustained broad trade relations.

¹ Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Miejsce książki w kulturze polskiej XVI wieku,' in *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia*, ed. Andrzej Wyczański (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1986), 425; *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, vol. 1: *Małopolska: Od XV do XVI wieku*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1983).

² Jan Małecki, 'Rola Krakowa w handlu Europy Środkowej w XVI i XVII w.,' *Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie* 70 (1974), pp. 174–175.

The Krakow book industry was less developed than the print culture of Paris, Lyon, Venice or Antwerp. Nevertheless, it played a vital role in the economy of print in that part of Europe. Being a notable production centre, it also constituted, rather unsurprisingly, an important market for books. First, as a centre of trade, Krakow was a natural focus for the local commerce in books. Since a large proportion of the books published in the Commonwealth were printed in Krakow, most of the Polish imprints would in any case have started their journey in Krakow, either finding local purchasers among the mostly literate inhabitants of the city or being prepared for onward transmission. Krakow imprints were transported and sold to all the Polish provinces, eastern territories of the Commonwealth and even as far as Moscow and Istanbul. To a very limited extent they made their way to the west and were offered for sale at the fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig.³ At the same time Krakow booksellers imported and distributed books produced in Europe's leading printing domains: mainly Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and France, since the Polish demand for books was far greater than the local production. Due to the involvement of Krakow's merchants, books produced in the west found their way to various cities and towns in the east (Lviv, Lublin and Zamość), in the north (Vilnius) and in the south (Slovakia).⁴

Although we still lack more thorough information about the distribution and sales mechanisms of Krakow's book trade, our knowledge in this area is much better than for other cities of the Commonwealth. Archival research, mainly in *Archiwum Państwowe* (the State Archive) in Krakow, has identified much documentary evidence of how the book trade was organised in Krakow in early modern times. There are contracts, bills, letters, as well as wills and inventories compiled, in a vast majority of cases, at the death of people involved in book trade.⁵ Among these documents—since we do not know of any sixteenth-century sales catalogues of Krakow publishers or booksellers—the inventories constitute the most precious primary source. They vary considerably in scope and method of

³ Jan Pirożyński, 'Zagadnienie eksportu polskiej książki na zachód Europy w XVI wieku w świetle ówczesnych targowych katalogów i bibliografii,' *Sobótka*, 3–4 (1982), pp. 249–258.

⁴ Jan Pirożyński, 'Der Buchhandel in Polen in der Renaissance-Zeit,' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, ed. Herbert G. Göpfert et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), pp. 267–294; Monika Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie XVI wieku* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa 2004), pp. 19–23.

⁵ Jan Ptaśnik, *Cracovia impressorum XV et XVI saeculorum. Monumenta Poloniae Typographica* (Lwów: Ossolineum, 1922).

description: some are extensive, ordered according to a conventional range of thematic categories and describing the books precisely enough to enable the identification of the edition. On the other hand, there are also several inventories listing comparatively few books and providing vague descriptions that make the identification process difficult. Unfortunately most of these inventories have never been edited nor published. Similarly, not much use has ever been made of them, except for the pioneering works by Monika Jaglarz and Renata Żurkowa.⁶

The booksellers for whom we have inventories include merchant capitalists investing or specialising in the book trade travelling widely, attending the fairs, and establishing their local agents in smaller Polish towns. Their inventories reflect the large quantities of books with which they were dealing. The inventory of Michał Wechter compiled in 1542 lists 1,492 titles in 12,320 copies, that of Jan Thenaud written in 1582 mentions 2,262 titles in 6,552 copies, and the inventory of Zacheusz Kessner, dated 1602, enumerates about 15,500 copies and 5,300 titles.⁷ Publishers and printers traded in books as well, usually offering not only their own imprints, but also books produced elsewhere. When Helena Unglerowa, a widow of a master-printer Florian Ungler who ran the printing business on her own for a few years, died in 1551, there were 14,464 copies of 100 titles found in the bookshop she owned.⁸ The inventory compiled in 1585 *post mortem* of another master-printer, Stanisław Szarfenberger, documented over 2,200 titles in stock.⁹ These businesses catered for the needs of potential clients, but general traders, often selling cheap, popular prints had their share in the market as well, as did the bookbinders who wished to augment their income from the book trade.¹⁰

⁶ Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie*; Renata Żurkowa, *Księgarstwo krakowskie w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1992).

⁷ Respectively: *Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie* (*The State Archive in Krakow*), *Advocatalia Cracoviensia*, 137, p. 669–698; Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie*, pp. 51–58. *Advocatalia Cracoviensia*, 200, pp. 77–133, 819–821; Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie*, pp. 65–71. *APwK*, *Advocatalia Cracoviensia*, 226, pp. 1631–796; Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie*, pp. 71–75.

⁸ *APwK*, *Advocatalia Cracoviensia*, 146, pp. 421–437; Artur Benis, 'Materiały do historii drukarstwa i księgarstwa w Polsce', *Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce*, t. 17, cz. 1, Kraków 1890–1891, pp. 39–55; Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie*, pp. 77–80.

⁹ *APwK*, *Advocatalia Cracoviensia*, 205, pp. 807–814, 818–866, 877–897; Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie*, pp. 91–100.

¹⁰ On the ambiguities of early modern trade descriptions and the term 'bookseller' see James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book trade 1450–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 4–5.

This article focuses on the inventory of a bookbinder who was involved not only in binding books but also in selling them on a bookstall. The inventory was compiled in January 1587 by Jan Januszowski, the Krakow master-printer and the owner of the printing house known as Drukarnia Łazarzowa (*Officina Lazari*). Januszowski was asked to examine and list the belongings of his deceased brother-in-law, the bookbinder Maciej Przywilcki. He prepared the document on 14 January and had it witnessed by three other men: two bookbinders and an innkeeper. In August 1587 the inventory was copied into *Libri Scabinalia*, the municipal register of Krakow, where it has survived until today.¹¹

It is an unusual document: no doubt a most valuable source for historians of binding since it enumerates the tools used in the bindery and the materials stored on the premises. It also describes the bindings of Przywilcki's available stock and indicates the prices of particular items. Its analysis can therefore shed important light on contemporary bookbinding practice, especially since there is very little evidence, either written or pictorial, of how books were bound and sold in the sixteenth century¹². Bibliographers and book historians will also find the inventory interesting, since it lists books found among the bookbinder's possessions. I will briefly describe the content of the inventory, discuss the nature of the books listed and consider how it could have reflected the reading preferences of Przywilcki's clients. The identification of the precise editions registered in the inventory will then enable us to look at some of the inventory's 'lost' books.

The books in this inventory fall into two groups. The first section, with the heading 'Księgi, ktore zostały po nieboszczyku panu Matysie Przywilckim okrom bramki', lists 74 titles in 339 copies. These are the books that were stored in Przywilcki's workshop: new acquisitions that clients entrusted to their bookbinder, 14 old books (described with a rather pejorative phrase 'stare szpargały', that is, 'old rubbish') and imprints that Przywilcki either bound or was about to bind in order to offer them for sale in a small shop or rather a bookstall he owned. The subsequent section of the inventory lists 94 titles in 216 copies that were kept in the bookstall. The boy who used to sell them brought them back to Januszowski

¹¹ APwK, *Scabinalia Cracoviensia*, 207, p. 948–957; Adam Chmiel, 'Inwentarz rzeczy intrologatora krakowskiego Macieja Przywilckiego z roku 1587,' *Silva Rerum* 4 (1928), pp. 175–180; Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie*, pp. 103–105.

¹² For English, German and Dutch examples see Mirjam M. Foot, *Bookbinders at work. Their roles and methods* (London, New Castle: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2006), pp. 16–32 and the literature quoted by the author.

("Księgi, ktore w bramce przedawano, ktore chłopiec oddał"). Here the price of every item is indicated; the prices given could have been those suggested by Przywilcki himself or the books' appraised value as estimated by the compiler of the book-list.

The inventory lists a total of 134 titles (120+14) (some of the titles reappear in both groups) in 555 (541+14) copies. Unlike the inventories of Krakow professional book dealers, such as Thenaud and Kessner, the inventory of Przywilcki gives little detailed information on the books enumerated, the entries are abbreviated and not very numerous, since the bookbinder's stock was a modest one. Contrary to a more common practice of differentiating books into separate sections of thematic categories, in the analysed inventory, works of theology are not followed by books on philosophy, history, poetry, etc. Instead, and due to the very nature of the bookbinder's stock, the list was arranged by size, expressed in formats, and subdivided according to binding styles. Folios, quartos, octavos, appear either as simply "wiązane", which meant that the text block was sewn but not covered with a binding, or under the headings specifying various binding kinds: leather, parchment and paper. A handful of bindings were fitted with clasps ("z klauzurami"), a number might either have had gilt edges or have been gold-tooled ("pozlóciste") and a few titles were labelled as unbound ("niedoprawne", "nieoprawne") or folded, but not sewn ("w seksterniach"). The inventory lists the same works in different binding categories, together with their prices, which makes it possible to compare the contemporary value of the same imprint bound in various ways. Of course, since the price included the book itself, it is impossible to set a price on the binding alone, but it is still interesting to observe that Przywilcki charged 12 grosz for Jan Kochanowski's *Fraszki*, a quarto book of 130 pages, when it was bound in paper, and 15 grosz when it was covered with parchment. Similarly, Jan Kochanowski's *Psalterz Dawidów* (in quarto, 220 pages) cost 22 grosz when the book's sheets were only folded and wrapped with paper, whereas the same title sewn and covered with parchment would cost one floren, that is twice as much, since at the time one floren was worth 45 grosz.¹³

¹³ Julian Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369–1600* (Lwów: Kasa im. Mianowskiego 1935), pp. 26–34; Władysław Adamczyk, *Ceny w Warszawie w XVI i XVII wieku*, (Lwów: Kasa im. Mianowskiego 1938), p. 27; Wacław Urban, 'Ceny książek w Polsce XVI-XVII w.,' *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 46 (1996), pp. 61–67. See as well Foot, *Studies in the History of Bookbinding*, pp. 15–67.

A great majority of the works that are represented in Przywilcki's inventory, either as his own stock or books that his clients wanted him to bind, must have been books that sold well. Either they had already been purchased by someone who only entrusted his or her acquisition to the bookbinder, or, more often, it was Przywilcki himself who went to the expense of having them sewn or bound instead of storing them in sheets. Of course he would not have decided to have a considerable quantity of books ready bound in stock without being sure that he could sell them. Let us then see what works and what subject categories form most of the stock listed in 1587, both in terms of the number of the titles quoted in the inventory and the number of copies mentioned with each entry. In other words: what were the books that Maciej Przywilcki's clients sought? In my analysis I do not take into account the books that Jan Januszowski described as "stare szpargały", as it seems that some of these 14 books were manuscripts. Therefore, the numbers in this category add up to the total of 120 titles and 541 copies.

The inventory confirms that devotional books in vernacular were ever popular, as 29 titles of these in 173 copies dominate the list. There are many types of prayer books among them, such as 31 copies of *Preces* in Polish, 26 copies of meditations on psalms, 12 copies of collections of prayers of the Church Fathers, six copies of prayer books designed specifically for women and multiple editions of printed rosaries, little gardens of the soul and alike. Przywilcki also bound and sold vernacular catechisms and saints' lives; the inventory lists 12 copies of octavo pamphlets telling the story of saint Anne. The books in this category were printed in various handy or even miniature formats and were bound in different types of either cheap and simple or sturdy and expensive bindings.

Printed volumes of vernacular Bible and the Psalter follow (five titles in 11 copies), together with Latin liturgical books, theological and controversial texts (20 titles in 35 copies). Among these there were two copies of *Biblia brzeska*—a volume of the evangelical Bible translation, printed in Brest-Litovsk in 1563, nine copies representing at least three different editions of the Psalter in Polish, numerous religious polemical works predominantly of Catholic persuasion, and seven copies of Elias Pielgrzymowski's *De heroibus in Dei Ecclesia liber unus*, printed in Krakow by Jakub Siebeneicher in 1585.

Przywilcki's clients must also have bought a lot of vernacular advice literature since the inventory lists a few books devoted to denunciations of the sins of drunkenness and profligacy or advice on married life (seven titles in 28 copies). Apparently people visiting the bookbinder's workshop,

or “bramka” where his books were sold, were most keen to learn how to maintain the state of holy matrimony: the humorous guidebooks by Bartosz Paprocki on choosing a good wife (*Nauki rozmaitych filozofow około obierania żony*) and staying obedient to one’s husband (*Dziesięcioro przykazanie mężowo, ktore każda poczciwa małżonka ma mieć*) were represented in Przywilcki’s stock in nine and eleven copies, none of which received a decent binding—all were either only sewn, or sewn and wrapped in paper.

Confirming the local demand for utilitarian and recreational literature in the vernacular, the inventory includes a significant quantity of lighter works in Polish. There are books on fortune-telling, dream books, calendars and prognostications (seven titles in 74 copies). In sixteenth-century Europe these books and cheap pamphlets sold in large quantities and in all formats. Works of literature which promised a pleasant, undemanding read feature relatively strongly as well, as the inventory lists eight titles (in 38 copies) of vernacular light-hearted texts, most notably droll stories, tales in prose and verse stemming from either the biblical or classical tradition, chivalric romances and independently circulating *novelle* from Giovanni Boccaccio’s *Decameron*. Przywilcki bound and sold copies of an octavo edition of the dialogue between Salomon and Marcolphus in Polish (11 copies of the entertaining *Marchott* were found among his possessions). At the same time, he also tried to meet more sophisticated needs, offering his clients marvel-filled chivalric tales with four copies of *Historija o Magielonie, krolewnie neapolitańskiej*, a Polish rendering of the adventures of Pierre de Provence and the fair Magelone, princess of Naples.

The indigenous works of contemporary poets and humanistic vernacular prose are represented in the 1587 inventory as well, but they hold a secondary place in the list (five titles in 11 copies) compared to the literature of less noble order. Nevertheless, the inventory names a number of Polish works by Jan Kochanowski, the country’s most notable sixteenth-century poet. There are three copies of his epigram collection *Fraszki* and one volume of his collected writings, published in 1585/86 by the printing house of Jan Januszowski, the inventory’s compiler, and bound by Przywilcki. Along with the works of Jan Kochanowski, some of Przywilcki’s clients must have sought *Dworzanin polski*, a book by Kochanowski’s friend and another luminary of the sixteenth-century Polish humanism—Łukasz Górnicki, since five copies of this free translation of Baldassare Castiglione’s *Il Libro del Cortegiano* were found in the bookbinder’s workshop and in his bookstall.

Since Krakow was both a university town with a vibrant school culture and an important centre of commerce in this part of Europe, it is no surprise that the bookbinder's inventory confirms local demand for literature of instruction (15 titles in 117 copies). Obviously, some of Przywilcki's clients must have been those whose scholarly interests or professional needs involved the mastery of Latin and European vernaculars, namely Polish, German and Hungarian. Therefore, Przywilcki bound and sold bilingual or multi-lingual dictionaries, primers and phrasebooks, useful both for students and for the city's merchant clientele. Grammars and syntactical works, along with handbooks on dialectic and rhetoric supplied the school market: the inventory lists 17 copies of "Donaty z polskim", an edition of Aelius Donatus's *Vetustissimi grammatici elementa ... cum traductione polonica*, as well as 21 copies of his work on the eight parts of speech, adapted "for boys" by Leonard Culman. Classical authors, whose texts were used to teach Latin, are also represented: the inventory includes eleven copies of Terence's comedies and six copies of Cato's *Disticha*, possibly in an edition containing the Latin text as well as its Polish and German translations.

Przywilcki responded to the interests of laymen not only by binding and selling dictionaries or phrasebooks but also with a number of utilitarian works on jurisprudence (five titles in nine copies), history and contemporary politics (six titles in 11 copies). However, there are few medical texts in the inventory compiled by Januszowski. What is more, the three titles (in four copies) that are included in the list suggest that the contents of the books did not provide the readers with highly specialised information: the items were just household books offering advice on how to keep oneself and one's horses healthy.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, very few of the titles listed in Przywilcki's inventory reflect the scholarly preoccupations of those who visited the bookbinder's shop. The only truly learned books that a client could find in the bookbinder's little bookshop were two philological, humanist works: "Phaenomena Kochanowskiego", Jan Kochanowski's rendition of Cicero's Latin translation of Aratos's Greek astronomical poem (in two copies), and *Notae in duas M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes*, written by the brilliant philologist Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki. For eight titles (in 27 copies) I am not able to determine the subject matter and content, nor to identify the character of the books.

The inventory of Maciej Przywilcki is not a lengthy one. Given the local market, it lists a modest stock of books. However, we have to bear in mind that these items were not the contents of a professional bookseller's store,

but at the premises of a bookbinder, who was also happy to sell some books. The contents of the inventory compiled in 1587 suggest that it may be taken as a reflection of the mundane business of the book in Krakow: publications listed are mainly vernacular popular books and brochures, in small handy formats. Only a small number of publications from the list could have attracted a more demanding clientele, and most of them are probably found among Przywilcki's books not because he was offering them for sale, but he had been asked to bind them. Given the overall popular nature of the publications listed in 1587, the absence of news pamphlets is rather surprising. Local news imprints that would have attracted the most interest are not mentioned, nor are pamphlets bringing information of portentous events from afar. Apparently, since Przywilcki's contemporaries rarely saw any reasons for collecting ephemera, none of the bookbinder's clients commissioned a selection of the news pamphlets to be bound together in a larger volume. Either Przywilcki did not have these small publications sold on his bookstall, or, on the contrary, they were all sold out before the inventory was prepared: a common dilemma in investigations of early modern bookshop inventories. It is less probable that unbound pamphlets offered on sale by the bookbinder were not be considered valuable enough to be listed.

With these observations in mind we can portray the clients who would typically visit Przywilcki's bindery and small bookshop. The majority of the bookbinder's clients belonged to a growing group of literate men and women with secular occupations, who purchased books for their content, who were attracted by books that were either utilitarian in one way or another, sometimes blending literature with instruction, or that provided recreational reading. For most of these people books were not elite luxuries, rather, diverse and generally available commodities. Of course there might have been scholars and professionals among Przywilcki's clients as well, and we even happen to know the names of two people who came after his death to collect their books, as Jan Januszowski, who compiled the inventory, noted the fact. Interestingly, one of the deceased bookbinder's clients was Mikołaj Gomółka, a talented composer and a member of the royal court, who wanted to collect his volume by Marsilio Ficino, stored in the workshop among what Januszowski described in the inventory as "old rubbish". Januszowski refused to give him the book "ażby zapłacił co winien" (until he pays what he owes), which comes as a surprise, since both men had known each other for years. Mikołaj Gomółka was one of the authors published by Januszowski's printing house and in fact his own book, providing music for the Psalter in a poetical rendering

by Jan Kochanowski, was one of the items listed in the inventory of 1587 as "Psałterz z melodyjami". The Krakow book world was a small one, where everyone knew everyone else, but evidently their business relations were strictly professional.

Since most of the books listed in Przywilcki's inventory were popular publications produced presumably in large quantities, it is natural to ask how many of the works listed in 1587 can be indentified and traced to a surviving copy? Not many: less than a half of the titles registered. There seem to be three principal reasons why the attempt to identify the actual editions of the books listed in Przywilcki's inventory is so difficult. In the first place such an investigation presents a considerable challenge since the inventory's entries are fragmentary and obscure. In a vast majority of cases, the titles in the list are given in an abbreviated or truncated form, authors' names are usually omitted, not to mention the fact that a printer, a place or a year of the publication are never provided. Therefore, works that are known to have existed in several editions in 1587 naturally preclude any attempt to identify an edition. In my survey I have assumed that the editions forming Przywilcki's stock were closest in date to the year in which the inventory was compiled. Of course this was not necessarily the case, not least because some early books had a surprisingly long shelf life and some of the items at the bookbinder's could have been relatively old acquisitions that Przywilcki was either to bind for the first time or to rebind. Similarly, even though I have concentrated on the Polish imprints, having decided that domestic editions were most likely to form the bookbinder's stock, it is obvious that because the sixteenth century saw the development of a lively cross-border book trade, a number of imprints registered in 1587 must have been printed abroad, like the inventory's "Kronika Kromera"—Marcin Kromer's *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*, four editions of which were published by Oporinus in Basel by 1568. That is why in most cases nothing more than a mere identification of the title was possible.

The second factor that makes tracing the books listed in the inventory a difficult task is that there is no modern bibliography of sixteenth-century Polish imprints. That means the survey was carried out using a number of standard bibliographies and catalogues, which by no means provide information on all surviving copies. These included *Bibliografia polska* of Karol Estreicher and printed, card or on-line catalogues of a few major Polish research libraries (in Krakow: Biblioteka Jagiellońska [the Jagiellonian Library], Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich [The Princes Czartoryski Library], in Wrocław: Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich

[The Ossolineum], Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego [The Wrocław University Library], in Poznań: Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Kórniku [The Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences], Biblioteka Uniwersytecka [The Poznań University Library], in Warsaw: Biblioteka Publiczna miasta stołecznego Warszawy [The Public Library] and Biblioteka Narodowa [The National Library]), as well as a number of bibliographies describing the output of either individual towns or printers.¹⁴ Monographs of authors and genres as well as on-line databases (e.g. VD16) were applied to identify the most enigmatic titles.¹⁵ As a result, what I now describe as unidentified may presumably continue to turn up as the data on Polish printing in the sixteenth century is gathered in one publication or a searchable database.

The third reason why a majority of the books listed in Przywilcki's inventory cannot be traced to a surviving copy is, of course, the relatively low survival rate for books and printed materials produced in the first two centuries of print, which is particularly visible in the categories of books that were appealing to popular audience. And because these formed a majority of the publications registered in the inventory, it confirms that books that were strictly utilitarian (like school books) or particularly enjoyed (like recreational literature) were often simply read to destruction and were far less likely to survive than scholarly volumes. Sometimes, a work represented by an entry in the inventory can only be identified in a much earlier edition that could not have been in Przywilcki's stock in 1587. That is the case for the octavo edition of the dialogue between wise Salomon and ugly Marcolphus in Polish, eleven copies of which were

¹⁴ *Katalog poloników XVI wieku Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, eds. Marian Malicki, Ewa Zwinogrodzka (Warszawa–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1992–1995). <http://www.muzeum.krakow.pl/Katalogi-i-bazy-danych.462.o.html?L=1>. *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki ZN im. Ossolińskich. Polonica XVI wieku*, ed. Maria Bohonos (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1965). *Katalog poloników XVI wieku Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, ed. Jan Ożóg (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1991). <http://www.bkpan.poznan.pl/OLDPRINT/biblio.html>. *Katalog druków polskich XVI wieku Biblioteki Głównej Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu*, eds. Józef Cybertowicz, Henryk Kowalewicz (Poznań 1963). *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Publicznej m. st. Warszawy: Polonica XVI wieku*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (Warszawa 1957). Leonard Jarzębowski, *Druki toruńskie XVI wieku* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1969); Marta Burbianka, *Produkcja typograficzna Scharffenbergów we Wrocławiu* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1968); *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi. Zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, vol. IX–XI: *Maciej Wirzbięta*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (Wrocław: Ossolineum 1974–1981).

¹⁵ Helena Kapehuś, *Stanisław z Bochnie Kleryka królewski* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1964). Julian Krzyżanowski, *Romans polski XVI wieku* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1962).

listed by Januszowski. There is no bibliographical evidence for an edition of that amusing, popular work that was likely to be in the bookbinder's stock in the late 1580s. We have access only to fragments of six much earlier editions (1521, 1526, 1529, 1535, 1540, 1553); they survived only because they were reused as pasteboard layers and were found hidden away in sixteenth-century bindings.¹⁶ On the other hand, some works inventoried by Januszowski are known today in copies printed after 1587. A good example is the small quarto book by Bartosz Paprocki: *Nauki rozmaitych filozofow okolo obierania żony*, nine copies of which are mentioned in Przywilcki's inventory. Although no surviving copy of the sixteenth-century edition has been found, there are known copies of as many as six seventeenth-century editions, the oldest one dated 1602. There are occasions on which a work is lost for us altogether and it is only from the title in the register that we can make assumptions about its content and nature. This is the case for the anonymous translations of the *Decameron* mentioned in Przywilcki's inventory. For example, not a single copy of the Torello story in Polish (day X, 9) has survived, even though Januszowski listed ten copies of "Historyja o Torellu" in octavo.

Bearing in mind that the books listed in Przywilcki's inventory were mainly small, published in handy formats (14 copies in folio versus 270 copies in octavo), it is not surprising that many of them have left little or no trace in contemporary collections. After all, it has long been assumed that the rate of survival is directly related to size: smaller books suffer a higher rate of attrition than more expensive and substantial publications. Large books, books in folio, live longer. This phenomenon is confirmed by the study of the Krakow inventory, but only to a certain extent. It has been fairly easy to propose an edition for the titles listed in the inventory's folio section, except for the book registered as "Fortuna", two copies of which are mentioned in the inventory. Presumably the elusive title in the bookbinder's list is a trace of an edition of *Fortuna abo szczęście*, a book on fortune telling that was used as social entertainment. An edition of such a book of fate printed in Krakow in Oficyna Łazarzowa of Jan Januszowski at the end of the sixteenth century seems to be documented by a piece of paper found in a contemporary binding. The fragment is very small: five lines of a Latin *approbatio* and, on the reverse, four lines of a Polish text, but fortunately, two copies of two separate seventeenth-century editions

¹⁶ Kazimierz Piekarski, 'Fragmenty czterech nieznanych wydań "Marchołta"', *Pamiętnik Literacki* 32 (1935), pp. 481–520.

of this work are also known today.¹⁷ One of these copies is heavily damaged, and kept in the Biblioteka Narodowa (the National Library) in Warsaw, the other, complete, is in the Strahovska Knihovna v Klastere Premonstratu (the Strahov Monastery Library) in Prague.¹⁸ Of these, the better preserved Prague copy, consisting of more than 70 folio leaves, tells us what the book in Przywilcki's shop might have looked like. The idea may appear far-fetched, but if we look closely at the seventeenth-century copies of *Fortuna abo szczęście*, we soon realise in its production the printers recycled the woodcut material that had already been in use in the Krakow printing house of Hieronim Wietor as early as 1530. Wietor's woodcuts were then used by Barbara Wietorowa, the widow of the deceased master, her second husband, Łazarz Andrysowic, the son of Barbara and Łazarz—Jan Januszowski, and, apparently, some seventeenth-century Krakow printers. What is more, one of the fortune-telling wheels in the seventeenth-century books of fate bears the date 1531, suggesting a *terminus post quem* for the first edition of *Fortuna abo szczęście*. Most probably subsequent editions followed: copies of one of them were registered in the 1587 inventory, a scrap of the other (or maybe the same) edition survived hidden away in the sixteenth-century binding. The almost complete disappearance of these sixteenth-century editions was not a result of the ephemeral nature of the publication, since the book was not printed in one of the small formats. It can be explained by the entertaining nature of the book's content and the consequent attitude of its readers (or rather: users), who did not think it was worth cherishing or collecting. That seems an interesting lesson for the phenomenon of book survival that we can learn by studying 'lost' books from the Krakow bookbinder's inventory.

One may only wonder about possible results of a detailed and systematic analysis of early modern Polish inventories and book lists. We may only hope that this neglected area of book history in Poland will receive necessary attention. When one looks at Przywilcki's inventory, one cannot help but come to the perverse conclusion that what has been lost may sometimes prove more interesting than what has survived. And that 'lost' early books may prove less enigmatic than we have previously thought.

¹⁷ Kapełuś, *Stanisław z Bochnie Kleryka królewski*, p. 79.

¹⁸ BN.XVII.4.3504, *Fortuna abo szczęście*, Kraków, Drukarnia Waleriana Piątkowskiego [1646–1652]. AG XII 25, *Fortuna abo szczęście*, Kraków, Drukarnia Dziedziców Stanisława Bertutowica 1665.

Appendix

- 1) Books represented in Maciej Przywilcki's inventory: subject categories.

Table 11.1. Books represented in Maciej Przywilcki's inventory: subject categories.

	Titles	Copies
Devotional books (Catechisms, prayer books)	29	173
Vernacular Bible and Psalter	5	11
Latin liturgical books, theological and controversial texts	20	35
Vernacular admonitory literature	7	28
Books on fortune-telling, prognostications	7	74
Belles-lettres (Kochanowski, Górnicki)	5	11
Recreational literature	8	38
Literature of instruction (grammars and school texts)	15	117
Works on jurisprudence	5	9
History and contemporary politics	6	11
Medical texts	3	4
Scholarly publications	2	3
Unidentified	8	27

- 2) A transcribed sample from Maciej Przywilcki's inventory—books kept in the bookstall.

Księgi, które w bramce sprzedawano, które chłopiec oddał

In folio wiązane

1 Statuta Przyłuskiego (do tego statutu Przyłuskiego ożwał się z Kazimierza Jan Grochowski, introligator i wziął go, zapłaciwszy od wiązania gr. 11), fl. 2

1 Postylla Białobrzeskiego, fl. 4

1 Cronica Cromerii, fl. 1, gr. 18

1 Speculum disciplinae, fl. 1, gr. 5

1 Herby, w pergamin, fl. 2

1 Fortuna, gr. 15

1 Rejestr, gr. 6

In quarto wiązane:

- 1 Porządek majeburski prawny, fl. 2, gr. 7
- 1 Psalterz z melodyjami, fl. 2, gr. 10
- 1 Artes duodecem Calvinistarum contra Volanum, gr. 24
- 1 Psalterz Kochanowskiego, fl. 1
- 1 Homilie Vicelii, gr. 24

W pargaminie

- 1 Dworzanin, gr. 24
- 2 Phaenomena Kochanowskiego, po gr. 20
- 1 Psalterz Kochanowskiego, fl. 1
- 1 Fraszki tegoż, gr. 15
- 1 Rejestr, gr. 5

W papirkach całych

- 2 Fraszki Kochanowskiego, po gr. 12

W półpapirkach

- 3 Nauki obierania żon, po gr. 1
- 3 Dziesięcioro przykazania, po gr. 1
- 1 Katalog krolow, gr. 1
- 2 Warsztaty, po gr. 3
- 1 Historyja o świętym Stanisławie, gr. 3
- 1 Niniven miasto, gr. 1
- 1 Szlachcic, gr. 2
- 1 De Heroibus, gr. 3
- 1 Szachy, gr. 1
- 1 De modo inquirendi haereticorum, gr. 1
- 2 Algorytmy, gr. 1
- 1 O Heliaszu historia, gr. 1
- 1 Sąd o zbroję Achillową, gr. 1
- 1 Naprawa Rzeczypospolitej, gr. 1
- 1 Losowanie, gr. 2
- 1 Andreae Patr. notae, gr. 2
- 1 Aesop, gr. 5
- 2 Psalterza Kochanowskiego w seksterniach po gr. 22

In octavo w skórę całą

- 1 Mnich z Dworzaninem, gr. 15
- 1 Flores sermonum, gr. 18

- 1 Psalterz polski, gr. 15
- 1 Raj duszny, gr. 18
- 1 Rożaniec, gr. 15
- 1 Terentius, gr. 8

In octavo w połpapkach

- 4 Snow wykład, po 1,5 gr.
- 2 Enchyridion de Jure, po gr. 2
- 4 Żywoty świętej Anny, po gr. 1
- 4 Historyje o Jadamie, gr. 1,5
- 3 Parvus Catechismus, po gr. 2
- 3 Historyje o Torellu
- 4 Marchoły, po gr. 1
- 2 Comaediae Bacchis, po gr. 1
- 2 Historyje o obrazie Panny Maryjej, po gr. 1
- 4 O szpetnej wdowie, po gr. 1
- 2 Formulae puerorum, gr. 1,5
- 3 Comaediae Reychlini, po gr. 1
- 3 Dialectica Caesari, po gr. 1,5
- 1 Dialectica Micani, gr. 1
- 2 Końskie lekarstwa, gr. 1,5
- 2 Historyje o Antiochu, po gr. 1
- 1 Żywot dworski
- 1 O pożyczaniu pieniędzy
- 1 Konterfet marnotrawce, gr. 1
- 1 Kazanie o chmielu, gr. 1
- 2 Historyje o Magielonie, gr. 4

In octavo w polskorkach

- 4 Donaty z polskim, po gr. 4
- 4 Culmany, po gr. 3
- 7 Preces łacińskich, po gr. 1
- 5 [Preces] polskich, po gr. 1
- 3 Elementarze, po gr. 2
- 1 Cornelli Grammatica minor, gr. 4
- 2 Dictionarze, po gr. 5

In 12° z klauzurami w skorę całą

- 1 Psalterz z godzinkami, gr. 20
- 1 Godzinki święte, gr. 20

- 1 Ciemne jutrznie, gr. 15
- 1 Skarb duszny, gr. 10
- 2 Modlitw panieńskich, po gr. 11
- 2 Katechizmy, po gr. 7
- 1 Modlitwy na każdy dzień, gr. 6
- 1 Modlitwy Bethman, gr. 7
- 1 Siedm psalmow, gr. 6
- 2 Modlitwy psalmow, po gr. 7
- 1 Pozdrowienie, gr. 6
- 1 Rejestr, papier, gr. 6
- 2 Modlitwy doctorow świętych, po włosku wiązane, po gr. 6

In octavo w pargamin

- 109) 2 Filary katolickie, po gr. 6

In 12° w pargamin

- 1 De confessione Powodowskiego, gr. 5
- 1 De componendis versibus, gr. 3

In 16° w skorkach

- 4 pozdrawiania, po gr. 4
- 4 Ewangelie łacińskie, po gr. 4,5
- 2 Cursa krakowskie, po gr. 5
- 1 Minucyje trzech autorow, gr. 5
- 1 Bernatowe minucyje, gr. 2
- 1 Rejestr, gr. 2
- 42 Minucyje proste, po gr. 1

In 24°

- 4 Dzienniki, po gr. 4
- 4 Dzienniki pozłociste, po gr. 8

In 32°

- 2 Modlitewki proste, po gr. 3
- 2 Pozłociste modlitwy, po gr. 5
- 1 Hortulus animae, gr. 5

- 3) A fragment of Maciej Przywilcki's inventory—books kept in the book-stall. *Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie*, rkps 207, p. 954–956.

1. De modo de m. gnicar de la red	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
2. Algorismy	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
3. O kłopotach i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
1. Ind. o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 2.
1. Ind. o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 2.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 5.
2. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 22.
In octario wstecz 24. Galt.						
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 15.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 18.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 15.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 18.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 15.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 8.
In octario wstecz 24. Galt.						
4. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 12.
2. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 2.
4. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
4. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 12.
3. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 2.
4. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1. pl.
4. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
2. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
2. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
4. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
2. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 12.
3. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
3. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 12.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
2. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 12.
2. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
3. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
1. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 1.
2. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 4.
In octario wstecz 24. Galt.						
4. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 4.
4. Knapcy i o gnicar i o gnicar	-	-	-	-	-	J. 3.

Illustration 11.2. A fragment of Maciej Przywilcki's inventory—books kept in the bookstall. [Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, rkps 207, p. 955]

956. 2. Procos. po. Xie dm lwinigleij poricz godzleij.	g.	5.
1. Clementarje po. -	g.	2.
1. Ornaty Kamiełowa amine.	g.	4.
2. Ornaty po. -	g.	5.
In 12. Helagurczimij wstroz 24 cala.		
1. Palatow prochy leamij.	g.	20.
1. Godzleij Jurejze.	g.	15.
1. Aemne wykymie.	g.	10.
1. Stawak dymij.	g.	11.
2. Prochle w pamieci kiej po.	g.	7.
2. Stawak dymij po.	g.	6.
1. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij.	g.	7.
1. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij.	g.	6.
1. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij.	g.	6.
2. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	7.
1. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij.	g.	6.
1. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij.	g.	6.
2. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	6.
In 12. wstroz 24 cala.		
2. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	6.
In 12. wstroz 24 cala.		
1. De compositione Powszechna.	g.	5.
1. De compositione Powszechna.	g.	3.
In 16. wstroz 24 cala.		
4. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	4.
2. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	4.
2. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	5.
1. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	2.
1. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	2.
4. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	1.
In 24.		
4. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	4.
4. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	8.
In 12.		
2. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	3.
2. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	5.
1. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	5.
6. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	2.
2. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	2.
1. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	5.
8. Prochle w pamieci kiej dymij po.	g.	1.
Ibidem coram eo qd officio Advocatus Coram m. s. p.		

Illustration 11.3. A fragment of Maciej Przywilcki's inventory—books kept in the bookstall. [Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, rkps 207, p. 956]

CHAPTER TWELVE

READING THE HISTORY OF THE ACADEMIA VENETIANA THROUGH ITS BOOK LISTS

Shanti Graheli

The Accademia Venetiana (1557–1561)

Born into a patrician family of old lineage, traditionally involved with Venetian political life, the young Federico Badoer (1519–1593) took an active part in the cultural circle that met in the house of Domenico Venier (known as the *Accademia Veniera*) in sixteenth-century Venice.¹ In February 1557 he returned to Venice after a three-year mission as an ambassador at the imperial court in Spain and Germany.² Both the period spent abroad and the Venetian cultural apprenticeship were to have some influence on the new project he engaged with from 1557 onwards. This was the establishment of the *Accademia Venetiana*.

The declared purpose of this society was to develop a fully comprehensive cultural programme, devoted to the universality of knowledge, in order to enhance the prestige of the Republic of Venice. Venice did not, at the time, have its own University. Following a common pattern of the Italian city-states, which preferred to place their universities in a satellite town, the Venetian Republic relied instead on the mainland University of Padua.³ The new academy was intended to play a substantial role in the education of young patricians and would-be politicians, attempting to create a centre for higher education and, more generally, an elite cultural institution right in the heart of Venice.⁴ The academicians also proposed

¹ M. Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia* (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1976²), vol. V, p. 446.

² 'Badoer, Federico', by A. Stella in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Treccani, 1960-) (henceforth: *DBI*), V (1963), pp. 106–108.

³ N. Harris, 'Ombre della storia del libro italiano', in L. Pon and C. Kallendorf, *The books of Venice / Il libro veneziano* (Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2008), pp. 455–516: 488. The present-day University of Venice first took form in 1868 and only received official university status in 1935.

⁴ P.L. Rose, 'The Accademia Veneziana: Science and Culture in Renaissance Venice', *Studi veneziani*, XI (1969), pp. 191–242: 193–194.

themselves, albeit unsuccessfully, as managers of the Marciana library. The structure of the academy was gradually modified from the small, informal group of people personally chosen by Badoer in 1557, to its final form, reached by the end of 1559.⁵ It was then organised by classes, according to its members' subject interests, and counted about one hundred academicians. Regular meetings were held at first at Badoer's palace, but after 1560 they were transferred to the newly-built vestibule by Sansovino at St Mark's. Lectures and discussions on disparate topics were held here and listened to by a wide audience.⁶

These features made the *Accademia Venetiana* quite similar to the other academies, perhaps a bit more ambitious considering the wide range of activities they intended to approach. But there was one truly original characteristic that made it special: it was primarily a publishing venture. The original core of the Academia was brought together by Federico Badoer with the project of becoming an academic publisher. This intention meant that its fate became interwoven with that of the renowned Aldine press, at the time run by Paolo Manuzio, the third son of Aldus's marriage with Maria Torresano. All the other activities seem to have been planned and developed only later, following the metamorphosis of the Academy itself and its institutional programme.⁷ Some have seen in this peculiarity the continuation of the Aldine *Neakademia*, which surely must have nourished these new publishing ambitions to some extent. However, as will be discussed here, there were some substantial differences in the approach these academies had to their publishing programmes which separate them as manifestations of two very different cultural streams.

A second, fundamental model for the academy was the *Accademia Fiorentina* in Florence, which to some extent acted as a cultural ministry for duke Cosimo I.⁸ This is what Badoer set out to reproduce in Venice; the first hint of this blueprint is to be found in the similarity between the names, something that immediately suggests the intention to establish an institutional relation with the state.⁹

⁵ F. Badoer, *Instrumento di deputatione*, Venice 1559 (copy seen: Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. I 37), B3v-C2r; P. Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia «Venetiana» o della «Fama»', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, CXXXII (1973-74), pp. 359-392: 374-378.

⁶ Rose, 'The Accademia Veneziana', p. 193.

⁷ Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia', p. 376, confirms the impression that the cultural aspect had been somehow superseded or at least strongly influenced by the publishing activity.

⁸ Maylender, *Storia delle accademie*, vol. III, pp. 1-9: 4; L. Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria. Modelli letterali e iconografici nell'età della stampa* (Torino: Einaudi, 1995), p. 17.

⁹ L. Bolzoni, 'L'Accademia Veneziana: splendore e decadenza di una utopia enciclopedica', in L. Bohem and E. Raimondi (eds), *Università accademie e società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal cinquecento al settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1981), pp. 117-167: 150-152.

Unfortunately, his attempt was a failure. The reasons for the collapse of the *Accademia Venetiana* are still not completely clear, but there are several facts that certainly caused a sudden loss in standing. First of all, Badoer's family ran, at least temporarily, out of money: the project was far too ambitious to be carried out just by private initiative. But previous scholars have chosen to emphasise the consequences of the relations entertained by the academy with foreigners residing in Venice, especially Germans—something that was strictly forbidden to a Venetian gentleman.¹⁰ To these connections one must add those directly established in Germany and in the Low Countries from the very first stages of the academy's existence.¹¹ To these people, when their financial situation had become critical, Badoer's nephews tried to sell the privilege accorded to the academy from the Council of Ten in 1560, which named them as the official printers for the ordinances and decrees issued by the Republic. Around the same time, two of the most important members, Bernardo Tasso and Luca Contile, left the *Accademia Venetiana*. Finally, from February 1559 onwards Manuzio had stopped printing for the academy. The reasons are not clear: he was in exile for a short while, due to a rather injudicious trade in importing eels from Ferrara which proved to be a violation of Venetian ordinances.¹² Once he returned he was no longer committed to the *Accademia Venetiana* as their official printer. These factors all seem to have played some part or other in bringing Badoer's project to an untimely end: in 1561 the Academy was closed and the further use of its name banned, while the authorities instigated a series of investigations and brought to trial some of the people involved.¹³

Many details about the organisation and life of *Accademia Venetiana* are known thanks to the printing of a series of documents. These cover a wide range of topics: the academy's constitution and rules, letters of approbation addressed by prominent people to the society, accounts of its printing operations, which include lists of the books printed for the Academy, the contract to rent a bookshop, and others. All of these documents are quartos, printed on six main stocks of paper and featuring a few different types; at least one of them, a small roman type, was part of the material belonging

¹⁰ Stella, 'Badoer, Federico', p. 107; Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia «Venetiana»', p. 373.

¹¹ Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia «Venetiana»', pp. 367–368 and 373–374.

¹² C. Fahy, 'Paolo Manuzio, l'Accademia Veneziana e le anguille' (unpublished paper; see note 18 for further reference); T. Sterza, 'Manuzio, Paolo' in *DBI* 69 (2007), pp. 250–254: 252–253.

¹³ The name was used by a new society only towards the end of the century, after Badoer's death, to name the "Accademia Venetiana seconda" (see Maylender, *Storia delle accademie*, vol. V, p. 444).

to Francesco Marcolini taken over by Bevilacqua in 1559.¹⁴ Evidently copies had to go to all the academicians, so that, rather than going to the labour of making multiple manuscript copies, it was easier to set them up in type and print them. One cannot exclude, too, that they were printed to be used during the trial against the Badoer family in 1561.

Perhaps the prestige of the Aldine cachet meant that copies were carefully conserved and have come down to us: significant cluster have been identified in the Trivulziana library (Milan), Pierpont Morgan library (New York), Staatsbibliothek Berlin, John Rylands University Library (Manchester). Single copies of individual documents are found in other libraries. The Aldine connection also ensured that they were described by Antoine-Augustin Renouard in his *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*.¹⁵ Though they receive only marginal attention, Renouard discreetly exploited the information therein to flesh out his discussion of the history of the Aldine press.¹⁶ He had a manuscript copy made from a miscellany containing some of the printed documents, which at the time belonged to the library of the Dominicans "alle Zattere", in Venice.¹⁷ Much closer to today the documents relating to the academy's publishing programme were studied by Conor Fahy, whose work of bibliographical analysis on the publications of the Accademia, left unfinished at his death, was the starting point for this research.¹⁸

The earliest documents, a letter dated September 1557, and the first constitution of the *Accademia Venetiana* (November 1557) explicitly

¹⁴ 'Marcolini, Francesco' by P. Veneziani in *DBI*, 69 (2007), pp. 773–776.

¹⁵ The items were listed in the supplement to the first edition (1812) but the second edition contains better descriptions and numbers each item: A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde ou histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions* (Paris: J. Renouard, 1824), pp. 267–281 (pp. 277–280, nos. 29–52).

¹⁶ He only names one of the documents related to the Aldine press, the *Polizze* (no. 41).

¹⁷ The original volume was bought by Étienne Pierre, comte Méjan (1766–1846) and is now in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin. The manuscript is in the Biblioteca Trivulziana and it includes some extra material assembled by Renouard. See G. Porro, *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Trivulziana* (Torino 1884), p. 368; Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia', pp. 361–362; C. Fahy, "Paolo Manuzio, l'Accademia Veneziana e le anguille" (unpublished paper, see following note), p. 2.

¹⁸ Apart from various handwritten notes, there are two contributions by Conor Fahy that will be prepared for publication: 'Paolo Manuzio, l'Accademia Veneziana e le anguille' (on which Fahy was working in his later years) and 'A work flow chart for Paolo Manuzio's editions for the Accademia Veneziana', a paper given at the Seminar for textual bibliography in the modern foreign languages at the British Library, in May 2004. See N. Harris, 'Bibliografia delle pubblicazioni di Conor Fahy, 1999–2008', in 'In ricordo di Conor Fahy', *La Bibliofilia*, CXI/1 (2009), p. 78. Fahy's working papers and notes have been entrusted to Neil Harris so that they can be completed; their final destination will be Cambridge University Library.

presented the circle as a body whose primary purpose was to set up an academic publishing house.¹⁹ The second one gives some interesting details about the academy and its activity. It provides a list of twelve academicians and their individual duties.²⁰ All of them were charged with the revision, correction and approbation of the works that were to be published. The *Accademia* was to receive 5% of the copies of each edition, a percentage which was meant to cover expenses, whereas the remaining copies were to be sold for the author's and the bookseller's profit.²¹ It seems quite clear that such a small percentage would never cover expenses, and in fact from October 1558 the *Accademia* set up its own bookshop.²²

The business, identified by a publisher's device (the *Fame*), was registered in the name of Giovanni Badoer, Federico's nephew.²³ It was administered by him and his brothers together with a close friend of the family, the abbot Morlupino Morlupini, who had already been involved in the management of Badoer's finances. The publishing company was extant from (at least) January 1558 up to the summer of 1561 and its activity divides into three main phases. Paolo Manuzio was the sole printer involved with the academy during the first four months. He was forced to flee Venice in February 1559, but already in December 1558 Niccolò Bevilacqua's shop and the Nicolini da Sabbio had worked with the *Accademia Venetiana* in the second phase of the publishing activity.²⁴ All payments stopped in March 1559 and it would seem that there was no printing from spring 1559 to 1560, when the academy was accorded a privilege by the Council of Ten and named as the official printer/publisher of all the ordinances and decrees published by the Republic of Venice. This marks the third and final phase of the *Accademia Venetiana*'s publishing

¹⁹ The documents are: *A m. Camillo Vezzato*, Ren. 29 (copy used: Biblioteca Trivulziana, F 29/1, π1r-ν), and the *Instrumento tra alcuni academici et ministri interessali* (sic!), Ren. 32 (copy used: John Rylands University Library, Manchester, Aldine coll. 528).

²⁰ John Rylands University Library, Manchester, Aldine coll. 528, π2r-3v.

²¹ Rose, 'The Accademia Venetiana', p. 206.

²² Carlo Sigonio to Onofrio Panvinio, 9 October 1558, in his *Opera omnia, tomus sextus et ultimus* (Milan: in Aedibus Palatinis, 1737), p. 999.

²³ John Rylands University Library, Manchester, Aldine coll. 528, π 3v. 'Che la compagnia habbia à correre, e negoziarsi sotto questo nome, cioè il Magnifico M. Zoane Badoaro, e compagni'.

²⁴ The dates are known thanks to the printed accounts. See Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/16 and 18 (Ren. 39 and 40 respectively; no. 39 contains the whole text of the document). The accounts by Bevilacqua were published and commented in C.F. Bühler, 'An early printing estimate for an Academic press', *Library Chronicle*, 20 (1954), pp. 51–65; Bühler was then curator at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and he used their copy of the accounts.

activity which produced only a few short books and pamphlets published to less exacting standards.

The Publishing Programme

The publishing programme of the *Accademia Venetiana* was presented to the public in 1558 through its first edition. This was the *Somma delle opere*, a 32-leaved folio listing 631 works subdivided into 22 categories.²⁵ Some of them were unpublished, others were to be improved versions of existing editions. The title promised works from every branch of knowledge, and indeed the programme was developed as an organic whole which covered, in the eyes of contemporary observers, almost all knowledge. A Latin version of this book, the *Summa librorum*, was published in 1559, clearly aiming for a wider market.²⁶ The categories and their relative importance are listed in Figure 12.1.²⁷

As shown by the break-down of the categories in Figure 12.1, canon and civil law alone represent almost half of the total; the first category amounts to 119 titles (almost 20% of the total), whereas 162 works of civil law were planned—approximately 25%, to which should be added an imprecise number of specific treatises (“as many as 500”) [number 475]. Uniquely, these two categories present a further division into sub-paragraphs, consistent with the contemporary *repertoria*. Looking at the authors, e.g. in the “Canon law” section, one finds medieval jurists such as Angelo degli Ubaldi of Perugia or Bartolus of Saxoferrato, but they represent something of a minority. There were 13 planned editions of Giovanni Riccio’s work (professor in Padua since 1553 and a member of the *Accademia Venetiana*) and 20 for Giovanni Calderini, a fourteenth-century jurist of Bologna.²⁸

²⁵ An incomplete quantitative analysis of the list is given in Rose, ‘The Accademia Veneziana’, pp. 204–205. Rose states that the *Somma* lists about 300 editions, but fails to include ten categories: Warfare, Civil law, Politics, Economics, Ethics, Logic, Rhetoric, Poetry, History and Grammar. In all probability he was working with an incomplete copy (his final section, “Geography”, ends on a *verso*; thus he might have thought his copy was complete).

²⁶ D.M. Pellegrini, ‘Sommario dell’accademia veneta della Fama’, *Giornale della Italiana Letteratura*, XXII (1808), pp. 3–32, 113–128, 193–212 (see p. 11). The Latin edition was perhaps part of the Accademia’s marketing strategy, as it presents the programme in a new light, potentially appealing to a non-Catholic audience.

²⁷ I have numbered each entry in order of appearance; a reference number is given after each citation. I have used one of the two copies in the Biblioteca Trivulziana (Triv. B 529), checked against a copy in the library of the Museo Correr in Venice (OP.PD. * 0002 5013). The translations from the *Somma* are my own.

²⁸ There were only seven Italian editions of his work during the sixteenth century (five of them printed during the first quarter of the century, the last two after 1570). There were

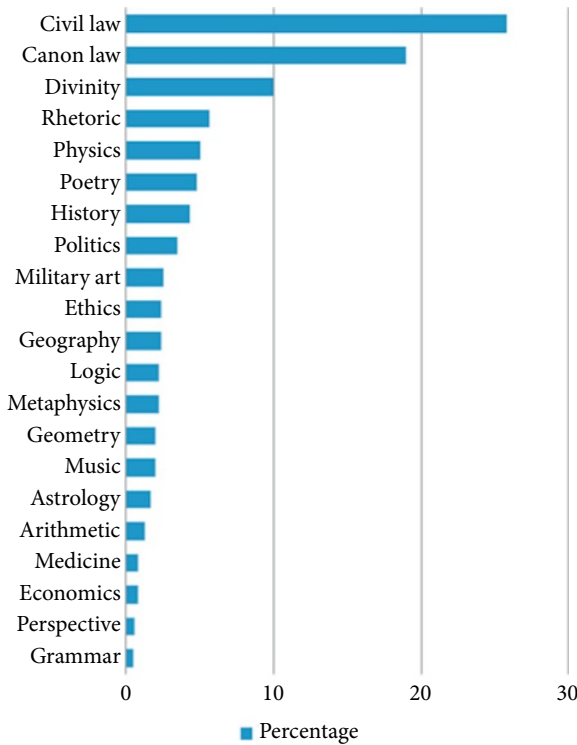


Figure 12.1. *Somma delle opere*: Categories.

The most represented author, with 25 editions was Paolo de' Liazari, a medieval jurist from Bologna.²⁹ Given that the academy had undertaken to print “unpublished” or “hard to find” works, Liazari seems to be quite an important choice. There was also a complete list of all the civil jurists, “numbering 240 in total, here presented in alphabetical order”: this was, clearly, an attempt to show the enormous variety of opinions and viewpoints offered by the *Accademia Venetiana*.³⁰

Though the other categories were numerically less important, they were by no means neglected. The theology section promised editions of

eight Italian editions published in the fifteenth century, and four in Germany and Switzerland (ISTC). On Calderini's biography see the article in *DBI* 16 (1973), by H.J. Becker, pp. 606–608.

²⁹ The article in *DBI* by A. Bartocci, vol. 65 (2005), pp. 16–19, gives a full account of the printed diffusion of Liazari's works. His writings were always published as part of general *repertoria* and miscellanea volumes.

³⁰ *Somma*, L1–2r-v.

Thomas Aquinas's *opera omnia*, the Bible with (several) commentaries, treatises and meditations by Saint Augustine, Theodoretus and Johannes Chrysostomus among the others, plus a wide range of Hebrew theologians.³¹ The sections on Physics and Metaphysics contain commentaries on Aristotle, works by Plato have a significant share as well as a number of well-known Platonists (notably Hermes Trismegistus, Marsilio Ficino and Francesco Zorzi). These choices have been considered clear signals of a strong Neo-Platonism, not least because the Academia's attitude towards Aristotle. A dissertation on the pre-Socratics, "which are condemned by Aristotle" [number 203] noted "it is demonstrated that Aristotle was perhaps wrong in some cases, when he referred to their words and concepts".³² One also finds individual works by some pre-Socratic philosophers, such as Parmenides, Democritus and Heraclitus. Euclid and Ptolemy are, unsurprisingly, recurrent names within the subjects of the *quadrivium*, together with Archimedes and Apollonius Pergaeus; but one does not merely find the *Elements*, the *Almagest* or the *Cosmographia*. There are also other treatises, yet unpublished (at least as individual works), such as Euclid's *Perspective*, or the second book of Archimedes' dissertation *On floating bodies*. There were also works by Roger Bacon and the Italian mathematician Niccolò Tartaglia, who had been published during the 1540s, but never, as the *Academia Venetiana* intended to do, "in various languages".

The attention devoted to Geography and History is of some interest. These sections were not particularly large, but combined offered a full overview of Europe, and of the New and Ancient World. There was sometimes a political slant to these works; for instance there is a "detailed description of all the lands and realms owned by the Catholic King, i.e., Spain, India, Sardinia, Maiorca, Minorca, Sicily, Naples, Milan and Low Countries". Other mentions are for Italy, England and Scotland, France and Germanic lands. The 15 entries in the "Geography" section often have a counterpart in some other subjects to enable a fuller understanding of each country, with special attention devoted to the Holy Roman Empire which seemed to fit in particularly well with Badoer's interests. Warfare promises the reader individual treatises centred on this or that country: a "treatise on the Swiss government, confederation and army" [number 303], systematic comparisons of "the quantity and quality of galleys armed in Germany, Flanders and England" [number 304], or specific treatises

³¹ *Somma*, B1–2r.

³² *Somma*, F1r.

about the “chivalry and infantry arranged by the Empire to prepare its defence against the Turks” [number 302]. Politics offers a dynamic overview of the continent of Europe, with an inventory of the incomes of German princes [number 480], a “description of the city-state of Genoa” [number 481] or an “anthology of all the Spanish matters”. Finally, although placed towards the end of the book, History naturally complements the more practical sections. With 27 entries it is not one of the longest lists, but nevertheless it displays a wide range of works, from broad topics to more specific works, such as “the origin and success of the four ancient Italian republics, Venice, Genoa, Florence and Pisa” [number 605], the summary of “all the military expeditions of the emperor Charles V” [number 610], or an account of “all the events which have taken place in England surrounding the Duke of Northumberland” [number 612], a detailed history of the succession to the English throne after Edward VI’s death.³³ One also finds newly-corrected and amended editions of the major Greek and Roman historians, such as Thucydides, Caesar, Sallust and Livy.

Together, these four categories offered an overview of the Continent as a whole. The European dimension, as opposed to a purely Venetian viewpoint, was reflected in the dedications of the works which were published in the following months. The section on Rhetoric mirrored this: speeches on various Venetian rulers [number 550–1] are associated to various “orations in life and death of the most important princes in Europe” [number 552].

Similarities are to be found between the selections of Roman historians and the choices made in the literary or poetry section that precede them. This small but relevant collection of works at first sight appears striking in its modernity. Catullus was praised for the perfect hendecasyllabic verse [number 577]; as for Horace, he was to be offered together with an explanation of the artifices which he took from the Greek culture [number 574]; Lucretius and Petrarch were admired for the beauty of their verses [numbers 575 and 591 respectively], whereas Homer was seen as the father of philosophers and poets [number 585].³⁴ In fact there would be little difference between this overview and a handbook of literature adopted nowadays in an Italian senior school. All of this is hardly surprising, as the *Accademia Venetiana* shared with other educational institutions a belief in

³³ A. Salza, *Luca Contile: uomo di lettere e di negozi del secolo XVI: contributo alla storia della vita di corte e dei poligrafi del 500* (Firenze: Tip. G. Carnesecchi e figli, 1903), pp. 178–180.

³⁴ See Bolzoni, ‘Splendore e decadenza’, p. 135.

the fundamental importance of the classical canon and thus continued down the path blazed by Aldus.

These choices had certainly much to do with the idea of providing a concrete, full educational programme for young patricians and statesmen-to-be, but were also directed to a broader, less specialised public. In the dedication of the *Somma* we find a rather veiled allusion to this, but this intention was stated explicitly in later texts: the list of books sent to the book fair in Frankfurt and the *Supplica* to the Procuratori di San Marco.³⁵ On several occasions, Badoer made clear his ambitions for the Academia, which he wanted to transform into the official cultural institution of the Venetian Republic. Unfortunately, this private initiative led by a patrician from such an old family was not something the oligarchy in Venice was prepared to accept.

The programme of the *Somma* matched the ideas expressed by Badoer in a letter addressed to Andrea Lippomano, a text that can be considered his own manifesto on the proper education for a future politician.³⁶ In particular he stated that Greek was, in his view, not at all necessary to a statesman, and learning it could even represent a waste of time in that context. The list of forthcoming publications reflected this. A number of works were “translated from Greek to Latin”, but Greek was only used in a very few cases and never alone: [number 199] *Le tavole di tutte le opere di Aristotele in lingua greca, latina et italiana* (a concordance of Aristotle’s works) and the concordances of the Bible [number 63] are works of reference. Some entries are meant to offer a Greek text, but always alongside a Latin one: “on the matter of the cylinder” [number 244], “Ptolemy’s theory in music” and “Ptolemy on harmony, with a commentary by Porphyrius” [numbers 261–262]. In most cases, the Greek language was simply used to advertise a new translation of the original text, with the intent of making the work available to a wider readership. The same principle holds true for Hebrew and Arabic. This is what makes the *Academia Venetiana* so different from the Aldine *Neakademia*: the strict use of the Greek language adopted by the latter shows an attitude which is by no means embraced by Badoer’s academy.³⁷

³⁵ Rose, ‘The Academia Venetiana’, doc. n. 6, pp. 228–233, but in particular p. 230.

³⁶ Rose, ‘The Academia Venetiana’, doc. n. 9, pp. 236–240.

³⁷ This does not mean that Badoer did not have any knowledge of the Greek language himself. His name appears in the lending registers of the Biblioteca di San Marco, in date 28.I.1545, for the borrowing of the *Aethiopica* by Heliodorus. The manuscript could be identified with two extant manuscripts, both of which are Greek volumes bequeathed by cardinal Bessarion and are still in the Biblioteca Marciana to-date: Gr. Z. 409(=838), and Gr. Z. 411(=673). See H. Omont, ‘Deux registres de prêts de manuscrits de la bibliothèque de

Not every entry had an explicit statement about language. Undoubtedly, the Canon Law and Law sections were to appear in Latin, and none of those entries presents any statement about the language of the planned texts. Even in the other sections, one does not find frequent information about translations into Italian. This does not necessarily mean that vernacular editions were not contemplated, but their importance is not to be overestimated. Rose and Bolzoni have both remarked that, although the academicians were not the purest followers of his prescriptions about language, the influence of Pietro Bembo is very evident.³⁸ However, the promotion of writings in Italian was not a major issue and it is likely that the vast majority of these books were to appear in Latin. Tartaglia offers an interesting case in point: that of the planned translation into Latin of his *Arithmetic*, of which the original was written in Italian [number 240]. As a whole, the *Somma* only contains 21 explicit proposals relating to translations into the vernacular, in a total of 631 entries. Even considering that some of those books were originally written in vernacular, and some others were meant to be translated but this was not specified in the *Somma*, the total amount of books in Italian was minimal. Bolzoni's contention about the importance of the promotion of Italian carried out by the Academia along the lines of Bembo and Speroni thus seems to be misguided.³⁹ The manifesto gives the impression of an institution still strongly orientated towards Latin as the universal language. As is confirmed by the publication of the Latin version of the *Somma*, they were not only addressing their publications to the Italian public, but also aiming for a wider European market. This meant that Latin was still the principal vehicle for the culture they wanted to spread throughout the Continent.⁴⁰

*Books Published and Lists Describing Them:
Different Viewpoints on the Printed Items*

To what extent did the *Accademia Venetiana* stick to the publishing programme during its short life? How similar were the original programme and the actual book production? In order to compare them, it is necessary

Saint-Marc à Venise', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 48 (1887), pp. 651–686: 658 and L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six early inventories* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1979), pp. 441, 468 and 477.

³⁸ Bolzoni, 'Splendore e decadenza', pp. 129–130; Rose, 'The Accademia Venetiana', pp. 201–204.

³⁹ Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria*, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁰ Rose, 'The Accademia Venetiana', p. 203.

to identify the surviving printed items. Additionally, however, we have an exceptional set of documents, among those mentioned above, that shed light on the whole venture. These are copies, in print, of the accounts and letters addressed to the *Accademia Venetiana* by the printers, and mainly by Paolo Manuzio. The documents can be subdivided into two main categories: the *Polizze* (formal letters from Manuzio to the Accademia) and the accounts proper, from Manuzio, but also by Bevilacqua and Nicolini. The *Polizze* are of little concern to us here, but now and then they offer interesting details and additional information on the books listed in the accounts. Not only do they trace what was done, but they present the preliminary situation too, as well as some ideas that were eventually discarded.

The accounts of the printing operations can be divided into two main varieties: those which give some chronological indication to the activities they are describing, and other undated ones. The most interesting items are the weekly accounts, which register the schedule of the printing operations in the Aldine shop, at first on a weekly basis, shifting more or less regularly to a period of three weeks by the beginning of November.⁴¹ The extant printed text covers the period from September 1558 up to the end of January 1559 through a total of 13 short accounting periods. There are some gaps in this calendar: the periods 1, 7–9 and 12 are missing and, as Conor Fahy rightly guessed in his unpublished notes, there must have been a period 14 as a conclusion to the printing. These accounts make up the longest list (4 pp.) and, together with the general account, they are the most detailed in terms of the quantity, quality and consistency of the data they offer. The general account, on the other hand, shows what was printed from September up to 24 December.⁴² Thus it does not contain data about the later period, but it does name and give some details on all those books printed in the gaps left by the other account as well as those already documented. Such is the case, for instance, of the *Somma delle opere* and Manuzio's *Epistolae*, printed in period one. A third, minor document belongs to this category, as it contains a few chronological indications.⁴³ It is less interesting than the others, as it does not offer particular details on the expenses it registers.

These two documents are complemented by some other accounts, shorter and less rich in detail, four in total. The first one presents some expenses for a translation which was executed by Pietro Fiamengo

⁴¹ Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/14a π1r-2v.

⁴² Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/14b π1r-v.

⁴³ *Adi 18. Zenaro 1557. In Venetia* (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/14a π3r).

(Valgrisi's proof-corrector) during the summer of 1558.⁴⁴ It is followed by a list of books drawn up just after the opening of the Academia's bookshop. This document is dated 30 October and is addressed to the treasurer of the academy, Bolognino Zaltieri.⁴⁵ The third text is a list of general expenses, and deals mainly with transcriptions of manuscripts, but it also refers to woodcuts and a sample of characters.⁴⁶ The last one is a list of various expenses.⁴⁷ Some of its entries appear in account 13 in exactly the same form, whereas others differ in the quantity of printed sheets enumerated. The two accounts are certainly related to each other, although to what extent is not quite clear. The undated account seems to contain details on the completion of the printing started during period 13: this does not mean that it can be considered the missing account 14, as at least one title is missing from there (that is, the *Duo poemata* by Sadoletto), but rather that it combines 13 and 14.

Taken as a whole, these documents offer an exceptional amount of data, most of which is presented in the tables at the end of this article. We will now examine the accounts and how these lists represented their items. All the books published by the *Accademia Venetiana* will be discussed, as it is only possible to obtain a clear vision of the printing and publishing activity, and its evolution, if considered as a whole.⁴⁸ The difference between the books included in the accounts and those that are not will be highlighted when necessary, but for the sake of clarity the Appendix offers a synthesis of the citations from the printed documents for each book (see Figure 12.5).

Which books were printed? Were they uniformly chosen within the *Somma delle opere*? Which was the predominant language? What was the preferred format? There seems to be no common pattern among them, although there are some unifying features. But the first issue to be addressed is how they are presented in the accounts. The documents sought to register clearly the weekly output of printed sheets produced by the Aldine workshop and, as a consequence, to present the sum the Academia had to disburse on the same weekly basis. Thus the books are

⁴⁴ *Conto dato da M. Paolo Manutio* (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/14a π3v).

⁴⁵ *Copia della ricevuta che ha fatto M. Bolognino Zaltieri al sig. Paulo Manutio de libri per conto dell'Accademia Venetiana* (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/14a π4r).

⁴⁶ *Spese diverse fatte in servizio dell'Accademia, et prima* (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/14b π2r).

⁴⁷ *1100. Commentario sopra la Topica di Aristotele* (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/14b π2v).

⁴⁸ With the exception of *EDIT16: Censimento Nazionale delle Edizioni Italiane del XVI secolo* CNCE 18493 and 2958 (Ren. 56 and 57), for reasons explained below.

not seen as an intellectual output, but rather as individual groups of printed sheets, with a precise cost per unit. If the general account is likely to have been drawn up by the Aldine shop for the Academia as a final end-of-year statement, all the others seem to be Manuzio's private accounts. The weekly accounts are not as consistent all the way through. The books appear according to the order in which they were printed, and they are identified by a functional short-title. This seems more likely to have been used as a familiar form within the shop, rather than between the shop and its customer. This short-title was not consistently chosen: it could be the first word of the title, the name of the author or another relevant word. For instance, one is simply called "the Tragedy" (for *Progne. Tragoedia*). Commentaries are either identified by the name of the commentator or as critical works on a specific book, such as the "speeches on Ethics", which was a commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.

The weekly accounts cite eighteen books and a pamphlet. To this total one must add four more titles (whole or partial), that were printed in one or another of the gap periods, and a fifth one that was probably printed just after the end of the accounts or, as one might see it, during period 14. Another pamphlet only appears in a list of various expenses by Manuzio. On a couple of occasions the weekly accounts present other expenses, but always related to the books which are being considered: a supply of paper to print one of them, the costs to produce the woodcuts for another. Almost all of the books listed are easily identified with extant editions (see Appendix). Both Renouard and Fahy had seen at least one copy of each, with the exception of the commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*. A small mystery surrounds this last item. From the weekly accounts we know that they started to print it not later than week 2, with two sheets being run off in that period. One of the undated accounts, which is probably related to the first period of printing, contains information on the completion of six sheets of this work. Then the book suddenly disappears from the documents. It is possible that it was printed but in the end never published, or more likely they had started, but never completed the printing. It seems plausible, however, that it might be identified with an (apparently) incomplete edition held in a unique copy in a Spanish library, which partially matches the physical description given by the accounts, and looks quite similar to the Aldine editions printed for the Academia. Unfortunately, this book has neither title-page nor preliminary matter, thus it is not possible to identify the edition with any certainty.⁴⁹ But again, if our

⁴⁹ Biblioteca Universitaria de Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca Xeral, sign. 22542.

reconstruction of the facts is correct, the title-page and preliminaries were never printed.

The titles emphasise the desire for novelty: most of the works were written either during the Renaissance, or were presented as commentaries and re-elaborations by contemporary authors. The choice of works is quite heterogeneous. It can be assumed that they wanted to offer a sample of the catalogue they had in mind. For instance one finds some commentaries on Aristotle (Ethics, Physics, Topics and Metaphysics), some analysis of contemporary politics and war, a Psalter, two law-books, a book of *orationes*, and others. One might object that the sciences were neglected in favour of social disciplines, and that proportionally there were too many books on politics. Although in the sixteenth century people able to read would usually have a full, rounded education, if not encyclopaedic, it is important to recall that in the beginning the academy was a very small group, and could only rely on the expertise which was actually available. On the other hand, it does not seem that science was a primary interest of the academicians. Fahy highlighted a marked interest in favour of the Holy Roman Empire and related matters; one can ascribe to this category three books: the *Discorso della guerra*, the *Dieci circoli dell'imperio* and the *Institutioni della bolla d'oro*.⁵⁰ However, the other European powers were not neglected. The *Ordine dei cavalieri del Tosone* refers to the constitution of a chivalric order by Philip III, duke of Burgundy (1396–1467), and the *Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra* is an account of the events taking place around the succession on the English throne after the death of Edward VI (1537–1553). But it seems that the true spirit of the Academia is best represented by the *Oratione della pace* by Reginald Pole, presented as an independent text in the weekly accounts, but published as a second work with the *Discorso della guerra*, to which its content is related. While the first text discourages Henry II from waging war against the Emperor, in the second, an oration to Charles V, the author begs for the preservation of peace on the Continent.

Unsurprisingly, these two works were not dedicated to either Charles V or to Henry II, something that would have been far too daring and arrogant. The preface is addressed to Alfonso II d'Este (1533–97), whom Antonio Girardi, in the name of the *Accademia Venetiana*, regards for his qualities as the perfect prince in time of peace and war.⁵¹ Of the other five

⁵⁰ Fahy, 'Paolo Manuzio, l'Accademia Veneziana e le anguille', p. 5.

⁵¹ *Discorso intorno alle cose della guerra*, A2r-v. Copy used: Udine, Biblioteca Bartoliniana, KK.IV.27/5.

books related to foreign affairs, the book on England was dedicated to Marguerite of Austria (1522–86), and the preface to the *De legato pontificio* was addressed to the cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–86). The *Institutioni dell'imperio* was offered to Charles II, archduke of Austria (1540–90). Five of the others were dedicated to eminent personalities abroad, while the rest were addressed to prelates, princes and nobles of the Italian peninsula. The issue of dedication was examined by Rose, Bolzoni and Puliafito who suggest that in the eyes of the *Accademia Venetiana* the dedications were more important than the books themselves during this first phase of the printing operations.⁵² Such high profile dedications were obviously written for a precise reason: to encourage patronage, from Venice and especially beyond Venice. In those preliminary matters, the academy sought to create a solid network.

However, the physical, material aspect of the books has been somewhat neglected. It is not a coincidence that, although other printers were sometimes asked to print the main body of some of the editions, the first sheet of each book, with the dedication, was always printed by Manuzio. It was important to offer a series of books, recognisable not just because of their content, but by their homogeneous and fine appearance. The *Polizze* show that great attention was given to three material aspects: paper, printing types and the publisher's device. Some of these issues reappear some time later in the accounts: large paper to print a few copies of the *Summa librorum* (most likely a sign that they were intended to be offered as gifts to important people), the preparation of a type-sample, the engraving of a new device. This aspect did not go unnoticed: by awarding the academy its privilege in May 1560, the Council of Ten explicitly referred to the beauty of the books they had already published.

The size of the books was also a matter of import. One finds a preference for quartos (67% of the printed books, or 14 out of 21). This was consistent with the intention to concentrate on academic titles, and the quarto is presented by Manuzio in the *Polizze* as a format which is particularly apt to give dignity to a book.⁵³ There are only two octavos, and the rest are folios, about 20–25% of the total. Two of these are commentaries on Aristotle and the largest books published by the Accademia: the *Commentary on Topics* and the *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* by

⁵² A.L. Puliafito, 'Gli "splendori dell'aurora". Fasti editoriali dell'Accademia della Fama nei testi di dedica (1558–1559)', in L. Secchi Tarugi (ed.), *L'Europa del libro nell'età dell'Umanesimo*. Atti del XIV Convegno internazionale. Chianciano, Firenze, Pienza 16–19 luglio 2002 (Firenze: Franco Cesati, 2004), pp. 489–504.

⁵³ Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/14b 47r.

Lodovico Boccadiferro. In total, five editions are folios; apart from Aristotle, there are two law books and the *De fluxu et refluxu*, printed together with the *Motu octavae sphaerae* (both of which were by Federico Delfino) and complemented by large woodcut images.

These books were clearly meant to be noticed. This can be said even more of the *Somma delle opere*, the sixth folio, that was also printed on a special stock of paper. The final *polizza*, dated 30 July, had a specific purpose: furnishing the academicians with a sample of the paper specially ordered to print the *Somma* (here called “Indice”).⁵⁴ This edition was meant to be a special publication from its very inception, and it does not come as a surprise, therefore, that it was the object of particular care. It appears clear, too, that something changed between the moment when this letter was written and the actual printing. According to the letter, Manuzio had ordered three bales of paper at the cost of 7 *lire* a ream, for a total expense of 210 *lire*. This would have been enough to print more than 900 copies of the *Somma* in folio. The general accounts present a different situation: 400 copies of the book, printed on a slightly cheaper paper (just a bit more than 6 *lire* a bale). Nevertheless, paper still represented a bit more than half the total expense, and it is possible to see in the surviving copies that it was indeed a beautiful stock, with the watermark of a crown—thick, clear and made of a fine paste. These folio volumes were the most expensive items.

However, the price of the books is not related to the format, but to the actual cost in paper of each of them.⁵⁵ The commentaries on Aristotle's *Topics* and *Physics* were by far the most expensive items, and indeed they required more sheets than any of the other books. In a different instance, the *De fluxu et refluxu maris*, a folio with two gatherings of woodcut scientific illustrations, where the bill for the cutting had been paid separately, was twice the price of a small octavo which, comparably, used half the

⁵⁴ Although the name is different, this is clearly the same thing. The word “indice” is used in other occasions in the accounts, in a couple of occasions referring to material not surviving anymore; but in those cases we always find a qualifier, such as “piccolo” (small), or “latino” (in Latin). The two definitions of “Somma dell'opere” and “Indice” are also put one next to the other in the general accounts, referring to the same item. See Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29/14b 47v.

⁵⁵ Paper usually represented the main expense in book production, but there were also other substantial costs: the translation by “Pietro Fiamengo, correttore del Valgrisi”, cost 10 Venetian *scudi* for a book of 150 leaves, or one *scudo* per 15 leaves. The accounts show that printing a bale cost between 8 *scudi* (for the *Somma delle opere*) and just over 11 *scudi* (that was the price for 4950 sheets of the commentary on *Ethics*, but this price might include the cost of paper). Transcribing a work of about 130–150 pages (e.g., the *Consilia* by Alessandro Nieveo, never published by the Academia) cost 3 *scudi*.

amount of paper. Throughout, the documents display a continued interest in maintaining the quality of the paper, for which “ought to be made no economy”.⁵⁶ This concern had clearly been communicated to Manuzio, who was acting accordingly. The quality of paper remained a substantial issue through the whole period in which he was in charge of the printing; even by comparing the items printed by Bevilacqua and Nicolini with those from the Aldine shop it is quite clear that the quality offered by Manuzio was of a superior level.

As it has been said, preparations of a different nature are also represented in the *Polizze*. Manuzio presented to the academicians some printed samples so that they could approve the types before the beginning of the actual printing. He sent them three samples, one for each of the formats that he intended to use: the type that had “so much honoured my father’s printing” for the folios, a type he had ordered from France for the quartos, and one already used by Paolo himself for about a year for octavos.⁵⁷ Types and black ink of good quality were both matters of concern to the *Accademia*. The use of this material and its careful arrangement in a clean and fine layout, together with the excellence of the paper used for the printing, created a distinctive high quality product.

The final element in the branding was the publisher’s device. As anticipated above, the *Accademia Venetiana* chose the symbol of Fame, represented by a winged woman blowing a trumpet, with a scroll with the motto “Io volo al ciel per riposarmi in Dio” (I fly to heaven to rest in God). Expenses for the engraving of the device appear in one of the undated accounts, and the importance of this issue is underlined by surviving copies of the *Accademia*’s publications. There were a few different designs; the first to be employed was the engraving, but further engravings of a poorer execution and as well as a woodcut were also used.⁵⁸ The woodcut device (later adopted by Vidali and Griffio) highlights the decline of the academy and the shift from publishers of large texts to printers of pamphlets. This appears quite clearly from the layout of the title page: the light, elegant and neat page of the first works printed by Manuzio became crowded and untidy in the final period of printing. It is quite likely that by this point Badoer’s finances were already in a fragile state and that they had to lower the quality of paper and printing in order to maintain the bookmaking activity.

⁵⁶ Rose, ‘The Accademia Venetiana’, p. 224.

⁵⁷ See also Renouard’s comments: Renouard, *Annales*, p. 270 (see footnotes).

⁵⁸ The four devices are identified in G. Zappella, *Le marche dei tipografi e degli editori italiani del Cinquecento* (Milano: Ed. Bibliografica, 1986), numbers 507–510.

One of the most interesting aspects of comparing the accounts with the *Polizze* is, as it was anticipated, ascertaining which books were included in the production of the *Accademia Venetiana*, only to be discarded at the last minute. For instance, at the beginning of July 1558 the presses were being prepared for a number of works: a German treatise on warfare, the proceedings of the German diets, a book on the Swiss army and government and some texts by Thomas Aquinas.⁵⁹ Of these, the last three were never printed. Aquinas's *opera omnia* had been promised to one of the academy's benefactors, cardinal Alfonso Carafa, but eventually the preparations stopped due to unknown reasons.⁶⁰ In his letters, Manuzio asks the *Accademia* to decide what format and types were to be used, and what other works were to be printed together with it: this seems to indicate that the preliminary editing had been carried out.⁶¹

The Swiss text had been transcribed for a total expense of 30 *scudi*. It was expected to be ready for printing on 29 July, and the printer had also suggested it should be a quarto. However, it was not mentioned again after 22 July, and indeed no edition by the *Accademia Venetiana* can (even partially) be identified with it. In the letter dated 22 July, Manuzio asked for final decisions about the order to be followed after printing the *Somma delle opere* (which was clearly considered a separate item), so that they could make the final revisions in advance. He suggested that the first book should be Morlupini's letters, followed by the account of the events in England and the treatise on Switzerland, and that at the same time they should continue to prepare Thomas Aquinas.⁶² Of these planned editions, the second is the only one which was actually printed.

It has been pointed out that Badoer's circle concerned themselves with issues that were related to the Empire; however, as we have shown, the works actually looked to Europe as a whole. The academy's attempt to establish relations with the German intellectual world was unsuccessful and it could simply have been the first step in a more general project: the idea of Europe unified again, perhaps just culturally, or in some other way.

⁵⁹ The work on Switzerland was perhaps the *Discorso de i Sguizzeri* by Ascanio Marso, a diplomat who served there between 1549 and 1558. Marso was suspected of and investigated for heresy in 1558, which might be why his work was then discarded by the *Accademia*. See the article 'Marso, Ascanio' by R. Sansa in *DBI*, 71 (2008), pp. 3–5.

⁶⁰ Rose, 'The Accademia Venetiana', doc. 3, pp. 225–226.

⁶¹ Paolo Manuzio to the *Accademia Venetiana*, 21 July 1558 (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. 29/15 π1ν-2r).

⁶² Paolo Manuzio to the *Accademia Venetiana*, 22 July 1558 (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. 29/15 π2ν).

Neither Badoer himself, nor the *Accademia* as a community ever stated this formally, but the tendency to avoid religious distinction and separation appears to be the premise for such a political stance. Even more, it might seem rather surprising to the contemporary reader that in the political, geographical and historical sections of the *Somma delle opere* there is no mention of the Reformation. The events following the Peace of Augsburg (1555) might have appeared as a temporary situation to contemporaries. However, the schism between Catholic countries and Reformed ones proved to be irreversible. The impossibility of conciliation appears striking in the exchange of formal communications between the academicians on the one hand, and the “German literates” on the other.

In spring 1559 the *Accademia Venetiana* sent to the book fair in Frankfurt the editions that had been published up to then, accompanied by a short catalogue. This began with a preface, which was continued by the list and description of the books—a pamphlet that could be characterised as an advertisement. Proudly, and a bit naively, the dedication addressed to German scholars offered a short but clear overview of the projects of the *Accademia*. In particular, they stated that the books listed only represented a small part of what they intended to publish, all listed in the *Somma delle opere*. They meant to provide “all the books which might be a usual or special requirement of any public school”, as only through education there could be a return to the golden age.⁶³ It might sound a bit arrogant to the contemporary reader that they considered the Germans unable to provide for their own education; but actually the reason for their failure with this potential audience was that, despite the care taken to avoid religious issues, the German Protestant scholars refused to accept any theological text which had been approved by the Roman Church and Inquisition.⁶⁴ They insisted on the separate standing of their own belief and suggested the academicians take this into account in their programme, if it were to be truly universal.

The Protestants were convinced that Badoer was angling for a general Christian council, and replied that “if the council is free and Christian, there is no doubt it will be as the Council of Trent, which is ruled by the tyranny of our great enemy (i.e. the pope)”.⁶⁵ Even more critically, they

⁶³ *Libri, che in varie scienze, et arti nella latina lingua, e nella volgare ha nuovamente mandato l'Accademia Venetiana alla fiera di Francfort*, A2v (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F40).

⁶⁴ *Risposta agli accademici veneziani*, Augsburg 1559 (copy seen: Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice, OP. PD. 506/a); Pagan, ‘Sulla Accademia Venetiana’, p. 369; full text of the *Risposta*, pp. 386–392.

⁶⁵ Pagan, ‘Sulla Accademia Venetiana’, p. 390.

expressed concern about the Academia's activities: in their opinion it gave far too much attention to secular issues, which implied, they thought, a lack of commitment towards religion. This cultural choice was a mistake to the extent that "if you are only interested in printing secular books, you should rather consider abandoning your project".⁶⁶ That was the end of the European ambitions of the *Accademia Venetiana*. The lack of money was even more of a problem than the Protestant reply. As has been pointed out, the decline in the quality of the printed items was probably indicative of Badoer's financial problems. Pietro Pagan has suggested that the academy was no longer printing books, but was still in business with northern European cities, namely Nuremberg and Augsburg, as well as Antwerp. All this might on the other hand mean that, behind Badoer's display of wealth, there was the hope that, sooner or later, the Republic of Venice or some other power would offer a more material support.

The accounts allow us to make some final points. The books included in the accounts represent only a small proportion of the initial publishing programme of the Academia, though the accounts refer to quite a limited period of time. The average weekly print-run of about 16,500 sheets (i.e. more than 30,000 impressions) makes clear that there were at least three presses allocated to the production of the Academia's editions. According to Fahy, this suggests that during those few months, the Aldine workshop was entirely devoted to the publishing programme of the Academia.⁶⁷ In his first contribution on the *Accademia Venetiana*, Fahy offered a preliminary reconstruction of the printing timetable of the Aldine workshop. We propose a different version, combining the work performed by the three separate printing shops during the period August 1558—February 1559 in a single column which shows the total output for each month.

From December on, the printing shops of Bevilacqua and Nicolini joined the Aldine press in the printing operations. Figure 12.2 shows that, thanks to their contribution, the average print run grew by almost 50% in the final three months. So even if it is true that the comparison with the original programme might suggest the project was a failure, printing was nevertheless going well until February-March 1559. Bevilacqua and Nicolini seem to have joined the printing team because Manuzio could not cope with the quantity of work. But by that time, several factors came together to bring about the decline of the *Accademia Venetiana*.

⁶⁶ Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia Venetiana', p. 388.

⁶⁷ Fahy, 'A work flow chart', p. 3bis *verso*.

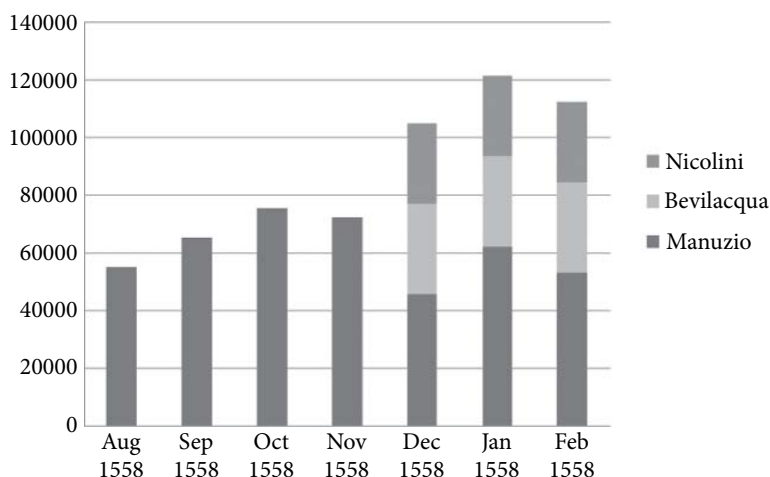


Figure 12.2. Monthly output for the *Accademia Venetiana*.

While the *Accademia* soldiered on until August 1561, book-related activities had stopped more than two years previously, with two exceptions of doubtful attribution. These two books, both listed by Renouard in his *Annales*, could have been printed by Bevilacqua.⁶⁸ In particular, the *De montium origine* seems to be set with his types; the title-page carries the name of the academy and the dedication is actually signed by Valerio Faenzi, “academicus Venetus”.⁶⁹ Still, this book otherwise has little in common with the ones printed, fully or partially, by Manuzio. As for the other, the *Trattato de’ costumi*, its first gathering certainly looks very different from all the publications described here.⁷⁰ However, the other two printed sheets seem to have been set in Bevilacqua’s types, so this might actually have been the final edition by the *Accademia*, or perhaps a reissue of it with the first sheet being reset. Given the appearance and presentation of these books, Fahy’s suggestion that they were probably published by private initiative seems to be correct.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *De montium origine* and *Trattato de’ costumi*; Renouard, *Annales*, p. 281: 56 and 57 respectively.

⁶⁹ *De montium origine*, A3r (Udine, Biblioteca Bartoliniana, BARTOLINI O.II.39/6).

⁷⁰ Aristotele, *Trattato de’ costumi*, A1r-3v (4r-v blank) (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MISC. C 0001 5461.2). This sheet was printed in a large Italic type, measuring 131 mm for 20 lines. The Italic type mainly used by the Aldine shop for the *Accademia Venetiana* measures 82 mm.

⁷¹ Fahy, ‘Paolo Manuzio, l’Accademia Veneziana e le anguille’, p. 1.

Which factors caused the disappearance of book-related activities, and how relevant was the involvement of the Aldine press to this evolution? Was the end of the *Accademia Venetiana* linked at all to the end of the publication programme? Conor Fahy suggested that Manuzio's departure from Venice might have had something to do with the failure of the programme. But his exile in Padua was brief and he had returned by June 1558. After his return, Paolo Manuzio never resumed printing for the *Accademia Venetiana*. In contrast, he kept on publishing under his own name with undiminished vigour, before, in 1561, handing over the running of the Aldine shop to Aldus junior and moving to Rome to enter the service of the Pope.

It has been said that the *Accademia Venetiana* had high ambitions in and for Venice.⁷² But the hope of achieving fame, fortune, and profit was even stronger.⁷³ This was to come about through the publication of the titles in the book catalogue, a production that was to promote the use of the vernacular to some extent, but was primarily Latin-centred because of its intended market. The academicians created several transalpine connections, though none of them proved fruitful. Many of these connections were of a financial nature, established through the circulation of letters of exchange. Such means did not necessarily imply that the money was actually available—and this was certainly the case with the *Accademia Venetiana*. Badoer made numerous commitments that he could not guarantee in any way, and it is likely that around March 1559 he was running short of funds. This situation of financial embarrassment might well date back to the previous December, when other shops started to collaborate with Manuzio in printing for the academy; in that case that could have been a convenient choice because Nicolini and Bevilacqua were cheaper than the Aldine establishment. The last chart we have shown might, at first sight, suggest that Badoer's academy was actually a successful venture: the printing was going well, and it even increased in the final period of printing activity, but the money invested actually decreased. This may explain the decision to redirect aims inwards to Venice itself, in the hope of obtaining direct financial aid, rather than the more ambitious and wide-reaching projects directed towards Europe and the outside. But no monetary support arrived; the *Accademia Venetiana* turned out to be a house of cards and soon collapsed.

⁷² Bolzoni, 'Splendore e decadenza', pp. 121, 124–5, 133, 146–7 and from 150 on; Rose, 'The Accademia Venetiana', p. 194, 210–1.

⁷³ Pagan, 'Sulla Accademia Venetiana', p. 376.

*Appendix**A. Tables*

Here follows a series of tables which summarise for each of the titles published by the Academia Venetiana the data on which the present contribution is based. As the main source for this discussion have been the printed accounts, one will find all the items listed in these documents (which include the four shorter book indexes, numbered as 22–23 and 25–26, but do not contain the two last publications of the Academia listed by Renouard as nn. 56 and 57 in the dedicated section in his *Annales*. See note 68 above).

Table 12.1. References.

	Title given in the accounts	No. Renouard	EDIT16 ⁷⁴	USTC ⁷⁵
1	Somma dell'opere	1	71	862348
2	Pauli Manutii Epistole	9	23095	840472
3	Tosone	11	10473	827688
4	Officio del legato	10	16201	803907
5	Notomberlam	8	23106	852067
6	Discorso della guerra	15	17285 (a)	803911 (a)
7	La Tragedia	14	13529	824223
8	De locutione Dei	6	23096	844306
9	I circoli dell'imperio	16	18492	828622
10	Boccadiferro	19	6408	814924
11	Siriano	13	47892	857874
12	*Discorsi sopra l'etica	18	/	864493
13	Oratione del cardinal Polo / Oration della pace	15	17285 (b)	803911(b)
14	Butigella	7	7318	816609
15	De miseria humana	12	9258	818618
16	De calamitatibus	22	23102	861538
17	Commentario in topica	20	73	862350
18	De fluxu, et refluxu	21	16437	826216
19	Istitutioni della bolla d'oro	17	7815	803979
20	Indice latino / Somme de l'opere latine	2	75	862352
21	Esposition de salmi	24	23101	849829
22	Indice de' libri mandati a Francfort	5/28	/	864494
23	Libri quos ad nundinas ...	27	72	862349
24	Orationes clarorum hominum	23	74	862351
25	[Indice volgare picciolo]	3	/	864495
26	[Indice latino picciolo]	4	/	864496
27	L'Alciato	25	848	808447
28	Sadoletto	26	47688	854177

⁷⁴ EDIT16: *Censimento Nazionale delle Edizioni Italiane del XVI secolo*.

⁷⁵ *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (www.ustc.ac.uk).

Table 12.2. Material consistency of the books.

No.	Title	Collation	No. of sheets	Format	Print run
1	Somma dell'opere	A-Q ²	16	2	400
2	Pauli Manutit Epistole	A ⁸ a ⁸ B-S ⁸ T ⁴	19.5	8	1700
3	Tosone	A-E ⁴ F ²	5.5	4	825(+)
4	Officio del legato	a ⁴ A ² B-E ⁴ F ²	6	4	825
5	Notomberlam	A ⁴ B-H ⁸ I ⁴	8	8	1100
6	Discorso della guerra	A-G ⁴	7	4	1250
7	La Tragedia	A ⁴ a ² B-G ⁴	7.5	4	825(+)
8	De locutione Dei	A-F ⁴	6	4	805 ⁸ (+)
9	I circoli dell'imperio	a ⁴ A-K ⁴	11	4	852 ⁸ (+)
10	Boccadiferro	a ⁴ A-Z ⁴ Aa-Kk ⁴ Ll ²	69	2	825(+)
11	Siriano	A-Z ⁴ Aa-Hh ⁴	32	4	1100
12	Discorsi sopra l'etica	B-G ⁴ ?	6+2?	4?	825(+)
13	Oratione del cardinal Polo	A-E ⁴ F ²	5.5	4	1250
14	Butigella	π ² A-S ⁴ T ⁶ a-C ⁴ d ⁶	46	2	1100
15	De miseria humana	A-R ⁴	17	4	825
16	De calamitatibus	a ⁴ A-H ⁴ I ⁶ K-S ⁴ [T] ²	19	4	825
17	Commentario in topica	a ² A-Z ⁴ Aa-Kk ⁴	67	2	1100
18	De fluxu, et refluxu	π ² A-C ⁴ D ² E-H ⁴	17	2	1100
19	Istitutioni della bolla d'oro	A-Q ⁴	16	4	825(+)
20	Indice latino	a ⁴ A-K ⁴	11	4	1100
21	Esposition de salmi	* ⁴ A-Z ⁸ Aa-Tt ⁸	42+1/2	4	1125
22	Indice de' libri mandati a Francfort	A-B ⁴	2	4	/
23	Libri quos ad nundinas ...	*.*.* ⁴	2	4	/
24	Orationes clarorum hominum	*.*.* ⁴ A-Z ⁴ Aa-Vu ⁴	33+2	4	1100
25	[Indice volgare picciolo]	/	/	8?	300
26	[Indice latino picciolo]	/	/	8?	500
27	L'Alciato	*.*.* ² A-Z ² a-p ²	38+2	2	1100
28	Sadoletto	* ⁴ A-F ⁴	6+1?	4	/

A "+", after the partial amount of sheets of a single edition means that some of them were printed separately by Manuzio (and this is always the case of the preliminary matters).

A "(+)" after the print run means that the accounts were registering a print run of 800 copies for that book in the first place, but they shifted to a print run of 825 items later on. According to Fahy, and that seems to be most likely the case, these were not increased print runs (it would not have been worth it to set up again so many forms just to add 25 copies each), but errors in the registration of the total amount of sheets. It should also be added to this that the list of books consigned to Zaltieri does register for most of its items a partial amount of 25 copies per edition given to the Academia. This might mean that those 25 copies were the books usually given, to be proofread or perhaps as complimentary copies, to the academy, and that in the first place Manuzio did not consider charging them for this.

Finally, a "8?" after the print run shows that although the said figure appears in the accounts, in the opinion of the present writer these figures are a mistake for the standard run of 825 copies.

Table 12.3. Appearance of the books in the accounts and period of printing.

No.	Title	Period of printing	Accounts				
			M, w/a	M, w/a*	M, g/a	M to Z	M, other B N
1	Somma dell'opere	Lug-Aug/Sep		*	*	*	M, w/a = item printed by Manuzio, which appears in the weekly accounts
2	Pauli Manutii Epistole	Aug/Sep		*	*	*	M, w/a* = item printed by Manuzio, which does not appear in the weekly accounts, but that was undoubtedly produced in that period
3	Tosone	Aug/Oct	*		*	*	M, g/a = item printed by Manuzio, which appears in the general account
4	Officio del legato	Aug/Oct	*		*	*	M to Z = item printed by Manuzio, which appears on the list of books handed in to Bolognino Zaltieri on 30th October 1558
5	Notomberlam	Aug/Oct	*		*	*	M, other = item printed by Manuzio, which appears in one of the three undated accounts
6	Discorso della guerra	Aug/Oct	*		*	*	B = item printed by Bevilacqua
7	La Tragedia	Aug/Oct	*		*	*	N = item printed by Nicolini
8	De locutione Dei	Sep/Oct	*		*	*	
9	I circoli dell'imperio	Sep/Dec	*		*	*	
10	Boccadiferro	Sep/Dec	*		*	*	
11	Siriano	Sep/Oct	*		*	*	
12	Discorsi sopra l'etica	Aug/Sep	*		*	*	
13	Oratione del cardinal Polo	Sep/Oct	*		*	*	
14	Butigella	Oct/Jan	*		*	*	
15	De miseria humana	Nov/Dec-Jan	*		*	*	
16	De calamitatibus	Nov/Dec-Jan	*		*	*	
17	Commentario in topica	Dec/Feb	*		*	*	
18	De fluxu, et refluxu	Dec/Feb	*		*	*	
19	Istitutioni della bolla d'oro	Oct/Nov		*	*	*	
20	Indice latino	Jan/Feb	*		*	*	
21	Exposition de salmi	Jan (M); Dec/Feb (N)	*		*	*	
22	Indice de' libri mandati a Francfort	Jan/Feb?	*		*	*	
23	Libri quos ad nundinas ...	Jan/Feb?		*			
24	Orationes clarorum hominum	Jan/Feb					*
25	Indice volgare picciolo	Jan/Feb?				*	
26	Indice latino picciolo	Jan/Feb?				*	
27	L'Alciato	Jan/Feb				*	
28	Sadoleto	Jan/Feb?		*		**?	

Table 12.4. Text, paratext and classification of the books.

No.	Title	Lang.	Dedication	Topic
1	Somma dell'opere	I	Lorenzo Priuli, doge of Venice	/
2	Pauli Manutii Epistole	L	Albertico Cibo Malaspina	Rhetoric
3	Tosone	I	Francesco de' Medici	Politics
4	Officio del legato	L	Antoine Perrenot	Canon law
5	Notomberlam	I	Margarite of Austria	History
6	Discorso della guerra	I	Alfonso d'Este	Warfare
7	La Tragedia	L	Francesco Varga	Poetry
8	De locutione Dei	L	Michele Bonelli ["card. Alessandrino"]	Theology
9	I circoli dell'imperio	I	Pietro Lando arch. of Candia	Politics
10	Boccadiferro	L	Ercole Gonzaga	Physics
11	Siriano	L	Johann Jakob Fugger	Metaphysics
12	Discorsi sopra l'etica	I?	/	(Ethics)
13	Oratione del cardinal Polo	I	/	(Warfare)
14	Butigella	L	Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy	Civil law
15	De miseria humana	L	Ippolito d'Este	Ethics
16	De calamitatibus	L	Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy? ["Sabaudiae dux"]	Ethics
17	Commentario in topica	L	Otto Truchses card. of Augsburg	Logic
18a	De fluxu, et refluxu	L	Cardinal François de Tournon	Physics
18b	De motu octavae sphaerae	L	/	Astrology
19	Istitutioni della bolla d'oro	I	Charles archduke of Austria	Politics
20	Indice latino	L	Lorenzo Priuli, doge of Venice	/
21	Exposition de salmi	L	Henry II of France	Theology
22	Indice de' libri mandati a Francfort	I	"Studijs delle belle arti"	/
23	Libri quos ad nundinas ...	L	"Studios bonarum artium"	/
24	Orationes clarorum hominum	I	Alfonso Carafa	Rhetoric
25	[Indice volgare picciolo]	I	/	/
26	[Indice latino picciolo]	L	/	/
27	L'Alciato	L	Philip II	Civil law
28	Sadoletto	L	Cristoforo Madruzzo	Poetry

B. Transcription of a sample section from the *Somma delle opere*.⁷⁶

[Mir]

POLITICA.

- [479] Cinque libri di ragion di stato, ne' quali con maraviglioso ordine si contengono tutte quelle cose, che sono necessarie, et che ragionevolmente si possono sapere, dintorno alle persone, alle corti, a paesi, et a gli habitanti, et alle forze de Principi, si Christiani, come infedeli, delle rep. et di ogni altro governo.
- [480] *Un libro delle rendite ordinarie, et straordinarie, di tutti i Principi di Christianita'.
- [481] Un simile di quelle de' Signori spirituali, e temporali, che sotto la giurisdittione de detti Principi sono compresi.
- [482] Delle precedenze, che sono tra i Principi, e le rep. con le ragioni che da ciascuna parte sono addotte.
- [483] Le pretensioni, che l'un Principe ha con l'altro sopra diversi stati.
- [484] Le capitulationi fatte tra tutti i Principi Christiani dall'anno XIX. infino al presente.
- [485] *I dieci Circoli dell'Imperio, ne' quali sono compresi i Signori spirituali, i temporali, e le terre franche, quando vengono chiamati alle diete Imperiali, o nazionali.
- [486] Due trattati dell'officio del prudente Ambasciatore.
- [487] Trattato dell'officio del segretario, nel qual si narrano gli ordini, che in tutte le corti di Christianita' si sogliono da quei secretari tenere, e mostrasi in capitoli quali conditioni di fortuna, di corpo, e d'animo siano atte a formare uno, che per eccellenza di virtu' sia degno di questo nome.
- [488] Descrittione particolare dello stato, governo, e costumi di Ragusi.
- [489] Simil descrittione della citta', e de lo stato di Genova.
- [490] Gli ordini, co' quali la repubblica di Norimbergo si regge.
- [491] L'ordine distinto, e particolare de gli uffici, e magistrati della Franza.

⁷⁶ *Somma delle opere che in tutte le scienze et arti piu nobili, et in varie lingue ha da mandare in luce l'Accademia Venetiana, parte nuove, et non piu stampate, parte con fedelissime tradottioni, giudiciose correzzioni, et utilissime annotazioni riformate* (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. B 529).

As this article stressed the importance of the publications in the discipline of politics, this is the section we chose to include from the *Somma delle opere* and from the catalogue of books sent to the Frankfurt Fair. In the first case the entries are numbered according to their place in the book.

- [492] Una breve raccolta di tutte le cose della Spagna, tratta da vari auttori antichi e moderni con bellissimo ordine.
- [493] Il Minos di Platone con un breve trattato inanzi, nel quale si dimostra, come dalla bonta' delle leggi nasce la quiete, et il felice viver delle citta', e delle repubbliche: e come la legge dovendo esser perfetta, bisogna, che sia fondata sopra alcune delle virtu', e.
- [Miv]
- che 'l suo proprio e' d'introdur quelle, e di scacciar i vitii, che perturbano la vita dell'homo.
- [494] Il dialogo di Platone, chiamato Civile, overo del Regno, con un discorso innanzi della qualita' de gli stati, dimostrandosi la bonta', et imperfettione di ciascuno, e quale delle due opinioni sia vera, o quella di coloro, i quali hanno voluto, che 'l vero governo si ritrovi in un solo, o pur quella del divin Platone, che vuole, che il perfetto sia quello de' nobili, o degli ottimati.
- [495] I dieci libri della repubblica di Platone, fedelmente di nuovo tradotti, con due copiosi, e dotti trattati, nell'uno de quali si ragiona di quella divina virtu' della giustitia, nell'altro si fanno molte belle considerationi dintorno a governi delle republiche.
- [496] Proclo sopra la Politica di Platone.
- [497] Libro de' sogni, tratto da gli antichi scrittori, hebraici, greci, e latini, nel quale si dichiara, che cosa sia sogno, le cagioni, et effetti di esso, con la interpretatione di molte cose appartenenti in essemplio al governo de prencipati, e delle republiche.
- [498] Trattato de gli otto libri della Politica d'Aristotele, ridotto in Idea, e con gli essempli de' presenti tempi congiunti a quelli de gli antichi, nel quale chiaramente si scuoprono tutte le sorti de' governi.
- [499] Interpretatione sopra la Politica d'Aristotele, dove gran parte della sua scienza e' confermata da gli essempli di varie citta', o antiche, o moderne.
- [500] Le leggi di Cicerone, con una consideratione molto utile dintorno il governo della repubblica Romana: dalla quale si comprende quanto le sue prudentissime institutioni avanzava quelle, che erano innanzi a lei fondate.

C. Transcription of the accounts relating to the printing relationship between Paolo Manuzio and the Academia Venetiana.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 29 (14).

CONTI DI M. PAOLO
MANVTIO CON L'ACADEMIA
INTORNO LE STAMPE

Conto secondo della Stampa con l'Academia Venetiana,
infino a di 17. settembre. 1558.

ACADEMIA die dar per la Tragedia fornita ecceto il primo foglio, sono fogli 6. opere 800. fanno in tutto fogli	4800.
De locutione Dei, fogli 6. opere 800. fanno in tutto fo.	4800.
Due fogli de i Circoli dell'Imperio, sono opere 800. fan no fogli	1600.
Due fogli del Boccadiferro, sono opere 800. fogli in tutto	1600.
Un foglio di Siriano, sono opere 1100. fogli	1100.
Due fogli de i discorsi sopra l'Etica, opere 800. fogli	1600.
Mezo foglio della fine del Tosone, opere 800. fogli	400.
Tutti i predetti fogli sono in somma fogli	15900.
cioè tre balle, risme una, quinterni 20. montano a 12. scu = di la balla scudi 38. lire 1. soldi 1.	

Conto terzo della stampa con l'Academia Venetiana,
infino a di 24. Settembre. 1558.

Academia deue dar per fogli cinque e mezo della oratione del Cardinal Polo, a numero di opere 1250. fogli in tutto	6873.
Circoli dell'Imperio fogli quattro e mezo, a numero di opere 825. somma fogli	3712.
Boccadiferro fogli tre e mezo, a numero di opere 825. somma fogli	2887.
Siriano fogli 2. e mezo, a numero di opere 1100 somma f.	2750.
Tutti i predetti fogli sono in somma cioè balle tre, risme due, quinterni noue in circa, montano a 12. scudi la balla, scudi 39.	16222.

Conto quarto della stampa con l'Academia Venetiana,
infino a di primo Ottobre, 1558.

Academia deue dar per fogli cinque, e mezo de i Circoli dell'Imperio, a numero di opere 825. fogli in tutto	4537.
Boccadiferro fogli sette e mezo, a numero di opere 825. fogli in tutto	6187.
Siriano fogli cinque e mezo, a numero di opere 1100. fo gli in tutto	6000.
Dedication del Tosone foglio uno, fogli in tutto	825.

Dedication de la Tragedia foglio uno, fogli in tutto	825.
Dedication dell'ufficio del Legato foglio uno, fogli in tutto	825.
Tutti i predetti fogli sono in somma	19200.
cioè balle tre, risme otto, quinterni otto, montano a ragion de 12. scudi la balla, scudi 46. soldi 8.	

Conto quinto della Stampa con l'Academia Venetiana,
infino a di 8. Ottobre, 1558.

Academia deue dar per fogli sette, fin Q. del Siriano, a numero di opere 1100. fogli in tutto	7700.
Boccadiferro fogli 8. fin L. semplice, a numero di opere 825. fogli in tutto	6600.
Notomberlam mezzo foglio	550.
Oration della pace, mezzo foglio rifatto	600.
Tragedia mezzo foglio	412.
Dedication del discorso della guerra, foglio uno	1250.
Tntti [sic!] i predetti fogli sono in somma	17112.
cioè balle tre, risme quattro, quinterni quattro, fogli 12. a ragion di scudi 12. la balla, montano scudi 41, soldi 9.	

Conto sesto della Stampa con l'Academia Venetiana,
infino a di 15. Ottobre, 1558.

Academia deue dar per fogli tredici del Siriano, infino a F. a numero 1100. fogli in tutto	14300.
Boccadiferro fogli otto, infino a P. semplice, a numero di 825. fogli in tutto	6600.
Tutti i predetti fogli sono in somma	
cioè balle quattro, risme una, quinterni 16. montano a ragion di scudi 12. la balla scudi 50. lire 1.	20900.

Conto decimo della Stampa con l'Academia Venetiana,
infino li 26. Nouembre, 1558.

Butigella fogli 5. infino P. semplice a numero di 1100. fogli in tutto	5500.
De Miseria Humana fogli 5. infino M. a numero di 825. fogli in tutto	4125.
De Calamitatibus, fogli 7. infino k. a numero di 825. fogli in tutto	5775.
Tutti i predetti fogli sono in somma	
cioè balle tre, e quinterni 16. montano a ragiō di scudi 12. la balla, scudi 36. lire 6. soldi 8.	15400.
Scritti in banco	ducati 100.

Conto XI. della Stampa con l'Academia Venetiana,
da 26. Nouembre infino a 17. Decembre, 1558.

Son creditor per resto dell'ultimo conto ducati	6. lire 2. soldi 6.
Botigella fogli 16. infino al quinto foglio del Repertorio a numero di 1100. fogli in tutto	17600.
De Calamitatibus fogli 8. infino al fine a numero di 825. fogli in tutto	6600.
De Miseria Humana fogli 6. infino al fine a 825. fo. in tutto	4950.
La dedicatione del Boccadiferro due fogli, a numero di 825. fogli in tutto	1650.
Cōmentario in Topica fogli 6. a num. di 1100. fo. in tutto	6600.
Il primo foglio de' Circoli dell'Imperio	825.
Per tanti spesi nel far fare i legni che seruono al Stampare il libro de Fluxu, & refluxu lire 16.	
Somma tutti i predetti fogli	38225.
che fanno balle 7. risme 6. quinterni 9. montano a ragion di 12. scudi la balla scudi 91. lire 4. soldi 13. alla qual somma aggiungendo ducati 6. lire 2. soldi 6. per resto del conto X. sopranominato, & lire 16. per li legni predetti sono in tutto ducati	108. soldi 10.

Conto 13. della Stampa con l'Academia Venetiana da 7.
infino a 28. di Gennaro 1558.

Son creditor per il conto passato di ducati	3. lire 5. soldi 10.
De Fluxu, & refluxu, fogli 13. infino al fine, a numero di 1100. fogli in tutto	14300.
Commentario in Topica fogli 22. infino Aa.simplice, fogli in tutto	24200.
Indice latino fogli 10. fornito a numero 1100.	11000.
Esposition de salmi fogli 2. a numero di 1100.	2200.
Per tanti spesi in carta mezzana per far l'Indice de' libri mandati a Francfort lire 11. soldi 12.	
Per carta grandeper* far dodici Some de l'opere latine	lire 2. sol. 8
Somma tutti i predetti fogli che fanno balle dieci, risme 3. quinterni 8 montano a ragion di 12. scudi la balla scudi 124. soldi 8. Alla qual somma aggiogēdo gli ducati 3. lire 5. soldi 10. del conto 12. e le soprascritte spese, che montano tutte scudi 2. soldi 12. sono in tutto ducati 140. lire 1. soldi 9.	51700.

Adi 18. Zenaro 1557. In Venetia.

L'eccellentissimo M. Paolo Manutio deue alla Nobile
& Eccellentiss. Academia Venetiana per altrettanti

contadi sotto questo giorno dal Magn. M. Giouanni Badoaro Ditta per cōprar l'opere del Boccadiferro scudi 15 ual ducati	16. lire 2. sol. 16.
Ditto per stampar l'Esemplari, che furono mandati a Roma ducati	3. l. 5. s. 6.
1558. 26. Zugno per tanti contadi per far conciar la casa della libreria ducati	3. l. 4. s. 10.
3. Luio per tanti cōtadi per dar a quel dal Gallo duc.	1. s.
Ditto per stampar l'Indice a buon conto ducati	24. l. s.
Primo Agosto per tanti contadi al ditto per parte de la Tradution ducati	8. l. s.
22. Ditto per contadi al ditto per stampar diuerse opere a bon conto ducati	46. l. s.
17. Settembre per tanti contadi al ditto a bon conto de stampature ducati	21. l. s. o.
Ditto per contadi al ditto a bon conto de stampature ducati	8. l. s. 12.
Ditto per cōtadi al ditto per parte de stāpature duc.	41. l. s.
24. Ditto per contadi a bon conto di stampe duc.	42. l. s. 18.
Primo Ottobre per contadi al ditto per la Tradutione della cosa de Sguizzeri ducati	10. l. 6 s.
6. Ditto per cōtadi al ditto a bon conto di stāpe duc.	49. l. 4 s. 8.
9. Ditto per contadi al ditto a bon conto ut sup. duc.	17. l. 1 s. 16.
16. Ditto per contadi al ditto a bon cōto ut sup. Duc.	32. l. 2.s. 12.
25. Ditto per contadi al ditto a bon conto ut sup duc.	52. l. 3.s. 16.
9. Nouembre per contadi al ditto per resto, & saldo di stampe fin questo presente giorno ducati	81. l. s. 2.
19. Ditto per contadi al ditto a conto di stampe scritti in banco ducati	100. l. s.
	Ducati 558. l.2. s. 6.

Conto dato da M. Paolo Manutio.
1558. a di primo Luglio in Venetia.

Dati a M. Piero Fiamengo, correttor del Valgrisio tre scudi a bon conto dell'opera Todesca in materia di guerra, tradotta in lingua Ita liana.

Adi 3. Agosto dati al medesimo, scudi due a buon conto.

Adi 12. Settembre, dati al medesimo per resto, e saldo della predetta tradottione, a ragion di quindici carte al scudo, cinque scudi.

Somma in tutto scudi 10.
per intero pagamento dell'opera, la qual'è carte 150.
a ragion di carte 15. al scudo.

1558. a di 30. Ottobre, in Venetia.

Copia della riceuuta che ha fatto M. Bolognino Zaltieri al sig. Paulo Manutio de libri per conto dell'Academia Venetiana.

1225. Discorso della guerra in quarto, &
 25. dati all'Accademia in piu uolte.
 766. De Legato Pontificio, con la Triuia Senatoria.
 59. dati all'Accademia in piu uolte.
 800. Ordini de Cauaglieri del Tosone in quarto.
 25. dati all'Accademia in piu uolte.
 368. Somma dell'Opere in foglio.
 32. dati all'Accademia in piu uolte.
 1075. Historia d'Inghilterra in ottauo.
 25. dati all'Accademia in piu uolte.
 775. De Locutione Dei in quarto.
 30. dati dal stampator all'Accademia.
 791. Tragedia Progne in quarto.
 34. dati all'Accademia in piu uolte.
 1650. Pauli Manutij Epistole in ottauo.
 25. in piu uolte all'Accademia.
 813. Circoli dell'Imperio in 4. tra li quali ne sono
 41. imperfetti, il resto all'Accademia.
 1171. Oration del Cardinal Polo.
 79. dati all'Accademia in piu uolte.
 977. Siriano sopra Metaphisica in quarto.
 123. dati all'Accademia in piu uolte.
 Del Boccadiferro ne sono fatti fogli 47. infino AA.
 semplice a numero di 825. per foglio.
 Della Bolla d'oro ne sono fatti fogli 13. infino O. a numeero
 di 825.
 Butigella fogli 8. infino D. a numero di 1100.

Conto generale di tutte l'opere fatte nella stamparia, gouernata da
 M. Paolo Manutio a nome dell'Accademia Venetiana,
 infino al finir del Buttigella, che fu la
 uigilia di Natale dell'anno
 presente 1558.

1250.	Discorso di guerra in quarto, à fogli 7. l'uno, sono fogli in tutto 8750. che fanno bal le 1. risme 7. quinterni 10. montano à ragion di dodeci scudi la balla scudi	21. l. s.
1200.	Oration del Cardiinal* Polo à fogli 6 l'uno, somma fogli in tutto 7200. che fanno balle 1. rism 4. quinterni 8. montano alla ragion predetta scudi	17. l. 1. s. 17.
1100.	Historia d'Inghilterra in ottauo à fogli 8. l'uno, somma in tutto fogli 8800. fanno balle 1. risme 7. quinterni 12. montano scudi	21. l. s. 16.

825.	De Legato Pontificio con la Triuia Senatoria in quarto à fogli 6. l'uno somma fogli in tutto 4950. che fanno balle O. risme 9. quinterni 18. montano scudi	11. l. 5. s. 18.
825.	Tragedia in quarto à fogli 7. e mezo l'uno, sono in tutto fogli 6187. e mezo, che fanno balle 1. risme 2. quinterni 7. e mezo montano scudi	14. l. 5. s. 14.
825.	De locutione Dei in quarto à fogli 6. l'uno somma in tutto fogli 4950. che fanno risme 9. quinterni 18. montano scudi	11. l. 5. s. 18.
825.	Boccadiferro in foglio à fogli 69. l'uno som ma in tutto fogli 56925. che fanno balle 11. risme 3. quinterni 17. montano scu.	136. l. 4. s.
1100.	Buttigella in foglio à fogli 49. l'uno, somma in tutto fogli 53900. che fanno balle 10. risme 7. quinterni 16. montano scudi	129. l. 2. s. 9.
825.	Ordine de Cauallieri del Tosone in quarto à fogli 5. e mezo l'uno somma in tutto fogli 4537. e mezo, che fanno balle O. risme 9. quinterni 1. e mezo montano scudi	10. l. 5. s. 9.
1700.	Epistolae Pauli Manutij in ottauo à fo. 19. e mezo somma fogli in tutto 32662. che fanno balle 6. risme 5. quinterni 6. e mezo montano scudi	78. l. 2. s. 13.
1100.	Siriano in quarto à fogli 32. l'uno, somma fogli in tutto 35200. che fanno balle 7. risme O. quinterni 8. montano scudi	84. l. 3. s. 4.
825.	Circoli dell'Imperio in quarto à fogli 11. l'uno somma in tutto fogli 9075. che fanno balle 1. risme 8. quinterni 3. montano scudi	21. l. 5. s. 5.
825.	Bolla d'Oro in quarto a fogli 15. l'uno, som ma in tutto fogli 12375. che fanno balle 2. risme 4. quinterni 15. montano scudi	29. l. 4. s. 13.
825.	De miseria humana à fogli 17. l'uno, somma fogli 14025. fanno balle 2. risme 8. quinterni 1. montano scudi	33. l. 4. s. 8.
825.	de Calamitatibus in quarto à fogli 18. e mezo l'uno, somma fogli in tutto 15262. e mezo fanno balle 3. risme o. quinterni 10. e mezo montano scudi	36. l. 4. s. 4.
400.	Somma dell'opere à fogli 16. l'una, somma in tntto* fogli 6400. fanno balle 1. risme 2. quinterni 16. montano à ragion di otto scu di la balla la stampatura scudi Per carta per stāpare il detto Indice risme 13. à lire. 6. sol. 4. la risma, monta scudi	10. l. 1. s. 7. 12. l. s. 4.

Spese diuerse fatte in seruigio dell'Academia, et prima.

Per il trascriuere l'opera de sguizzeri scudi	2. l. s.
Per hauer fatto designar due uolte l'insegna della Fa ma scudi	1. l. 1. s. 6.
Per far le mostre dell'Indice scudi	2. l. s.
Per il Traduttore die hauer per resto scudi	4. l. 2. s.
Per tre serrature per la casa scudi	1. 3. s. 7.
Per spese nel trascriuere il Siriano scudi	3. l. 4. s. 18.
Per tanti spesi nel far fare i legni che seruono al stam pare il libro de Fluxu, & refluxu scudi	2. l. 2. s. 12.
Per spesi nel trascriuere una parte del Boccadiferro scudi	2. l. s.
Per trascriuere i Consigli d'Alessandro dal Nieuu scudi	3. l. s.
Discorsi sopra l'Etica del Veniero fogli 6. à numero di 825. fogli in tutto 4950. fanno risme 9. quinterni 18. montano scudi	11. l. 5. s. 18.
1100. Commentario sopra la Topica di Aristotele fogli 67. à numero di 1100. somma fogli in tutto 73700. fanno balle 14. risme 7. quinterni 8. montano scudi	176. l. 5. s. 16.
1100. Indice Latino fogli 10. à numero 1100. somma fogli 1100. fanno balle 2. risme 2. montano scudi	26. l. 2. s. 12.
300. Indice uolgare picciolo fogli 2. à numero 300. somma fogli 600. fanno risme 1. quinterni 4. montano scudi	1. l. 2. s. 18.
1100. De Fluxu, & refluxu, & de motu octauae sphaerae fogli 17. somma à numero 1100. balle 3. risme 7. quinterni 8. scudi	44. l. 5. s. 17. 2. l. s.
Per il disegno, & intaglio della Fama scu. Per tati spesi in carta mezzana per far l'In dice Latino picciolo scudi	1. l. 4. s. 18.
Per carta grande per far 12. somme dell'opere Latine scudi	1. 2. s. 8.
Per un foglio dell'esposition de Salmi à numero di 1100. fanno risme 2. quinterni 4. somma scudi	2. l. 4. s. 4.
Somma in tutto scudi 970. lire 6. sol. 3.	

D. Transcription of a sample section from the *Libri mandati a Francfort*.⁷⁸

[B2r]

POLITICA.

Il nobilissimo ordine de' cavalieri del Tosone con le leggi loro, e qual sia l'insegna sua, et il modo, nel quale si adornino di quella, con le autorità e privilegi suoi, e qual sorte di persone meritano essere ammesse in tal grado; e molte altre particolarità degne di essere intese da ogni nobile ingegno.

Le institutioni dell'Imperio contenute nella bolla d'oro: per lequali si vede il bellissimo ordine, che si serva nella creatione de gl'Imperadori, con il modo di eleggere il Re de' Romani, con le dichiarazioni delle autorità, et esentioni di molti Principi; et ottimo ordine, col quale procedono gli Elettori, e per quali si portano le insegne, e come, e quando furono ordinati essi Elettori; e le belle autorità, che hanno gli ufficiali, mentre i Principi ricevono i lor feudi dalla Cesarea Maestà, o dal [B2v] Serenissimo Re de' Romani, e molte altre particolarità degnissime, e care ad intendere.

I dieci Circoli dell'Imperio con l'entrate de' Principi, e de gli stati della Germania: con le contributioni, si della cavalleria, come della fanteria: con una particolar descrizione del Reggimento della città di Norimbergo, e le renuntie de gli stati patrimoniali, fatte da Carlo V. Imperatore al Serenissimo suo figliuolo, et il governo dell'Imperio lasciato al Serenissimo suo fratello.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ *Libri, che in varie scienze, et arti nella latina lingua, e nella volgare ha nuovamente mandato l'Academia Venetiana alla fiera di Francfort* (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. F 40).

⁷⁹ I wish to thank Marina Litrico (Trivulziana Library, Milan) and Ed Potten (Curator at John Rylands University Library, Manchester, in 2011) for being particularly helpful. The opportunity to consult and use Conor Fahy's unpublished papers was given to me by Neil Harris and by Fahy's family, to whom I am very grateful.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE INVENTORY OF BEATRIZ PACHECO'S BOOKSHOP (SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, 1563)

Benito Rial Costas

The Castilian printer and bookseller Agustín de Paz was jailed in Santiago de Compostela in 1557 for printing counterfeit *bullas*. He died in prison one year later. His widow, Beatriz Pacheco, died in Santiago de Compostela in July 1563, and a few days later, as part of the subsequent legal proceedings, her personal possessions, including a bookshop and a printing office, were inventoried. The document with the bookshop's stock, a list of 571 entries with more than 1,500 volumes and several reams of printed ephemera, is kept today at the University of Santiago's Historical Archive.¹ The existence of Beatriz Pacheco's inventory was noted in 1927, but it has been neither published nor analysed in detail, and only some general and misleading statements have been made regarding its content.²

Agustín de Paz and Beatriz Pacheco's store was the main bookshop operating between 1554 and 1563 in the city of Santiago, and it was probably also a distribution channel for the whole of Santiago's archbishopric. The inventory of Beatriz Pacheco's bookshop is highly informative about many aspects of the sixteenth-century Spanish book trade and offers a better picture of its market than extant books do. It not only allows the reconstruction of Beatriz Pacheco's bookshop, but also enables us to understand Santiago's readers and their preferences, editorial successes and cultural environment. Through a brief description and analysis of the inventory of Beatriz Pacheco's bookshop, my object will be to provide an overview on some of these and other aspects, and to highlight the possibilities of bookshop inventories for studying sixteenth-century book culture.

¹ A.H.U.S. (Historical Archive of the University of Santiago) Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1.

² Pablo Pérez Costanti, *Notas viejas galicianas* (Vigo: Imprenta de los Sindicatos Católicos, 1927), vol. 2, pp. 9–10.

Agustín de Paz and Beatriz Pacheco

The first evidence of Agustín de Paz's activity comes from 1537. That year, Agustín de Paz, a resident of Zamora, published Fernández de Villegas's *Flosculus sacramentorum* in collaboration with the printer Pedro Továs.³ Between 1541 and 1542, he published several works in Zamora associated with the printer Juan Picardo.⁴ In 1546, he moved to Astorga to print missals and manuals for that bishopric. That year, he printed Cristóbal de Castillejo's *Diálogo entre dos sabios* and two works for the diocese of Astorga under contract. The following year, he printed four more works in Astorga: Bartolomé Palau's *Farsa llamada Custodia*, Francisco de la Reina's *Libro de Albeitería*, Francisco de Evia's *Thesoro de los ángeles* and Girolamo Savonarola's *Devotísima exposición*.⁵ In the summer of 1547, having fulfilled his obligations to the bishopric of Astorga but still resident in that city, Paz visited Galicia looking for new work. In July 1547, he visited Ourense, and in August 1548 he was in Santiago.⁶ In Santiago, Paz signed an agreement with the bishopric of Mondoñedo to print missals and breviaries for the diocese.⁷

He moved his printing office and bookshop to Mondoñedo in the spring of 1549, and remained in that Galician city until 1554. These were his most fruitful years. In Mondoñedo, he printed *Horas de Nuestra Señora* (1550), a missal (1550), Licenciado Molina's *Descripción del Reino de Galicia* (1550), Juan Bautista de Villalobos' *Aerarium commune* (1550), a breviary (1551), Andrés de Flórez's *Doctrina cristiana* (1552), Francisco de la Reina's *Libro de albeyteria* (1522), Antonio de Torquemada's *Coloquios satíricos* (1552) and some minor works.⁸ Paz and his family moved from Mondoñedo

³ Jaime Moll, 'Pedro Tovans, impresor en Medina del Campo, Zamora y Salamanca', in *Trabajos de la Asociación Española de Bibliografía II* (Madrid: Nuevo Siglo, 1998), pp. 106–107.

⁴ They published Luis de Medina, *Commentum capituli primi secundae sectionis Mesues*, Zamora, 1541; Florian de Ocampo, *Crónica general de España*, Zamora, 1541; and Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Relación de lo acaecido en las Indias*, Zamora, 1542. See Benito Rial Costas, *Producción y comercio del libro en Santiago (1501–1553)* (Madrid: Calambur, 2007), p. 110.

⁵ See Antonio Odriozola and Xosé Ramón Barreiro, *Historia de la imprenta en Galicia* (A Coruña: La Voz de Galicia, 1992), p. 124.

⁶ Agustín de Paz, resident in Astorga, gave a notarized power of attorney in Ourense on 11 July 1547. A.R.G. (Archive of the Kingdom of Galicia). Notarial Protocols of Alonso Bravo. Box 3129, unnumbered.

⁷ Although the document has been lost, the index of Pedro Lorenzo de Ben's book of protocol of 1548 states, 'Contra avto entre el cardenal mayor con Agustín de Paz ympresor'. A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 181, unnumbered. See Rial, *Producción*, p. 112; and Odriozola and Barreiro, *Historia*, p. 139.

⁸ See Rial, *Producción*, pp. 112–115.

to Santiago in 1554. On 2 August 1554, he rented a house for eight years in the "rúa de la Azabachería", close to Campo Square, Santiago's main market, where he established his dwelling, bookshop and printing office.⁹

Why Paz moved to Santiago is not clear, but evidence suggests that he was motivated by his interest in selling books rather than in printing them.¹⁰ The inactivity of his printing office in Santiago during the following years is certainly telling.¹¹ As noted, he had already visited Santiago in 1548, at which time he had probably sold books. In addition to being a potential outlet for his printing office, Santiago was also an interesting additional outlet for his bookshop.

Two facts would have stimulated Paz's interest in moving to Santiago in 1554 to sell books. First, Santiago was well suited to book retailing, given that it was the seat of one of the richest archbishoprics in Castile, along with Toledo and Seville, and an important urban centre in Galicia. Secondly, the most important book retailer in the city, Giraldo del Sol, had died in 1552. Once his family had settled in Santiago and his new bookshop and printing office opened, Paz started to look for new work. He moved to Oviedo in 1555 to print works for that diocese.¹² Two years later, he was arrested in Oviedo for printing counterfeit *bullas* and taken to prison in Santiago, where he died in 1558.¹³

After Paz was jailed in 1557, his wife, Beatriz Pacheco, took care of his printing office and bookshop. Around 1558, probably after Paz's death, she

⁹ A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 291, document 223; and file 317, f. 144. At the end of 1554 Agustín de Paz moved to a house nearby. See A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File S-119, fol. 180. Santiago's city design was based on two intersecting streets that formed part of Campo Square. The cultural and economic life of the city was concentrated in that square, where those of higher social status had houses and businesses. For an overview of Santiago's urban planning, see Juan Eloy Gelabert González, *Santiago y la tierra de Santiago de 1500 a 1640* (Sada and La Coruña: Edicións do Castro, 1982), pp. 187–193.

¹⁰ The archbishopric of Santiago was working on a new missal and breviary for the clergy at that time, but they were printed many years later. See Rial Costas, *Producción*, pp. 116–117.

¹¹ During this period, the press of Agustín de Paz in Santiago probably produced only minor works such as powers of attorney and obligation forms for notaries. Some examples in A.H.P.OU. (Provincial Historical Archive of Ourense). Notarial Protocols of Juan Blanco. Box 3114; A.H.P.L. (Provincial Historical Archive of Lugo). Notarial Protocols of Francisco de Neira. Box 2. Folder 1572–73; A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. Files 216, 310 and 317; A.C.S. (Archive of the Cathedral of Santiago). Notarial Protocols of Pedro de Zaldivar. File 698b.

¹² See Rial, *Producción*, p. 118.

¹³ Agustín de Paz died in the prison of Santiago at the end of 1558. On 27 October 1558, the Court official, Diego de Ribera, administered the oath to Agustín de Paz, but three months later, on 28 December, Beatriz Pacheco was defined as 'widow of Agustín de Paz'. A.R.G. Cabildos. Pillado. Bundle 2. Number 16. File 418.

divided the bookshop between herself and Alonso de Cárdenas, who had been managing her husband's office in Santiago since 1555.¹⁴ Her ignorance of book retailing and printing and the difficult economic situation she was facing probably lay behind this decision. Beatriz Pacheco died on 29 July 1563. Two weeks earlier, on 14 July, she had dictated her will. She appointed the merchant Cornieles de Bayona and her business partner Cárdenas as executors. The beneficiaries of her inheritance would be the eight children she had had with Paz.¹⁵ A few days after her death, on 4 August, Pacheco's personal belongings, including the bookshop and printing office, were inventoried.¹⁶ Between 12 August 1563 and 16 February 1564, the terms of her will were carried out.¹⁷ On 18 February 1564, her oldest son, Luis de Paz, ordered an appraisal of the assets of his mother's bookshop.¹⁸ Finally, on 15 March 1564, Pacheco's personal belongings were auctioned.¹⁹

What happened to Pacheco's bookshop is not known. Luis de Paz, her son and one of the beneficiaries of her will, kept the press, but it seems that the bookshop closed a few years later.²⁰ Although little is known about the collaboration between Pacheco and Cárdenas, the latter presumably became independent during those years and continued to run Pacheco's bookshop after her death.²¹ On 30 June 1564, Cárdenas rented a house close to Pacheco's dwelling, "in the entrance of Campo Square". He probably opened a new bookshop there.²² Cárdenas died in Santiago in 1572. His bookshop was sold in December of that year to Pablo de Paredes, who had been selling books in Santiago at least since 1568.²³

¹⁴ Alonso de Cárdenas is mentioned as Agustín de Paz's servant in a document issued in Santiago in 1556. A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago, File S-123, fol. 120.

¹⁵ A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 363, document 179.

¹⁶ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1.

¹⁷ A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 364, document 110.

¹⁸ Atanasio López, *La imprenta en Galicia. Siglos XV-XVIII* (Madrid: 1953), pp. 71-72.

¹⁹ A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 364, document 134.

²⁰ For a list of Luis de Paz's printed works see Odriozola and Barreiro, *Historia*, p. 141. For the involvement of Luis de Paz in commercial products other than books see Gelabert, *Santiago*, pp. 222, 238 and 241. Luis de Paz is still called 'bookseller' in 1565. A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. Índices. File S-Ind. 2, 1551-1565, fol. 335.

²¹ Alonso de Cárdenas gave a notarized power of attorney to Beatriz Pacheco and Luis de Paz on 21 June 1561. A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. Índices. File S-140, fol. 196. Other documents about Alonso de Cárdenas during those years in A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. Índices. File S-Ind. 2, fols. 157 and 162; and file S-138, fol. 75.

²² A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 364, document 225.

²³ A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 547, unnumbered. See also López, *La imprenta*, p. 70.

*The Inventory of Beatriz Pacheco's Bookshop**The Document*

The inventory of Pacheco's bookshop and other personal possessions was taken on 4 August 1563.²⁴ Unfortunately, the document with the appraisal of the assets of her bookshop, noted for the first time by Atanasio López in 1934, is lost. Only López saw the document. He transcribed a few items, so there is no doubt about its existence, but he did not note where it was kept.²⁵ This appraisal would be an extremely useful source of information and a perfect complement to the inventory, but unfortunately, all attempts to find it in the Historical Archive of the University of Santiago have been in vain. Unlike Pacheco's bookshop appraisal, the inventory of her personal possessions made on 4 August 1563 covers all goods that were found in her house upon her death. It includes the contents of her bookshop and printing office, household goods and other personal belongings.

The inventory consists of eighteen leaves without foliation. It is the first document of book Varia II of the Municipal Funds of the Historical Archive of the University of Santiago. The book includes various documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century and was kept at the Municipal Archive of Santiago until a few years ago. The number 103 is written in Roman numerals on the upper left corner of the first leaf of the document. This number is today crossed out, but it probably once indicated the place the document occupied among the notary's records. The inventory of Pacheco's bookshop begins on the verso of folio 7 and ends on the verso of folio 17. It consists of 571 unnumbered entries, which include 1,539 volumes, several reams of printed ephemera and some binding tools.²⁶ The inventory of the bookshop is not divided into sections. The book list starts with a laconic "in the downstairs store was the following" (folio 7v) and finishes with an enumeration of several printing and binding tools (folio 17 r-v).²⁷

²⁴ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1.

²⁵ López, *La imprenta*, pp. 71–72.

²⁶ Gelabert only counted 1,208 volumes. See Gelabert, *Santiago*, p. 322.

²⁷ "Vn cajon con sus cagetines, vna beronica, vn tornillo de azer mano, ocho tornos grandes y peq[ue]ños, vn maço de hierro, otro maço de madera, un çaço de cola, dos chiflas, q[uat]ro tixeras, vnas alicates, vn compas, dos martillos, dos dientes de brunyr, tres punçones, dos tenaças de cortar clabos, vnas tixeras de cortar latón, vna garlopa, tres cochillas, doze rruedas, mas otra rrueda, mas otra rrueda grande, diez y siete flores, nuebe biladores, vna caxalla de manos." A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 17r-v.

The inventory was noted for the first time in 1927, by Pablo Pérez Costanti in the second volume of his *Notas viejas galicianas*, although he did not specify where the document was kept.²⁸ Seven years later, Atanasio López, in his article 'La imprenta en Galicia en el siglo XVI', published in the *Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela*, also noted the inventory of Pacheco's bookshop, for the first time transcribing a very short piece—few entries of folio 17 recto—and specifying where the document was kept. He did not, however, comment on its contents.²⁹ Almost fifty years later, in 1982, Juan Eloy Gelabert González, in his *Santiago y la tierra de Santiago*, referred to this important document in the chapter devoted to the culture of Santiago in the sixteenth-century. Although Gelabert had consulted the bookshop inventory, he made only some general statements regarding the book list, provided some numbers and analysed the presence of some of the books.³⁰ As a result, the inventory of Pacheco's bookshop, like the inventories of other bookshops, awaits transcription, publication and detailed study. Such study is essential to understanding sixteenth-century Santiago's book culture.

Identifying and Analysing Beatriz Pacheco's Inventoried Books

Identifications of inventoried books are never definitive. Misleading transcriptions, our limited understanding of contemporary descriptive conventions, and the incomplete nature of our knowledge of sixteenth-century editions are just three problems that hinder conclusive identification.³¹

²⁸ Pérez Costanti also mentioned Beatriz Pacheco's will in this work and transcribed a short section. Pablo Pérez Costanti: *Notas viejas galicianas* (Vigo: Imprenta de los Sindicatos Católicos, 1927), vol. 2, pp. 9–10. In 1932 María Luisa Cuesta also mentioned Beatriz Pacheco's will, but she overlooked the inventory of Beatriz Pacheco's bookshop. María Luisa Cuesta, 'La imprenta en Santiago de Compostela', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1932 (1932), p. 209.

²⁹ Atanasio López, 'La imprenta en Galicia en el siglo XVI', *Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela* 6, 22 (1934), pp. 65–67; and López, *La imprenta*, pp. 70–71. Atanasio López's notice was mentioned by Odriozola and Barreiro in 1992. See Odriozola and Barreiro, *Historia*, pp. 140–141.

³⁰ Gelabert, *Santiago*, p. 322. See also Juan Eloy Gelabert González, 'La cultura libresca de una ciudad provincial del Renacimiento', in *Actas del II Coloquio de Metodología Histórica Aplicada. La Documentación Notarial y la Historia*, (Santiago de Compostela, 1982) (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1985), pp. 152–153; and Juan Eloy Gelabert González, 'Lectura y escritura en una ciudad del siglo XVI: Santiago de Compostela', in *La ciudad Hispánica* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1985), pp. 173–174.

³¹ See Benito Rial Costas, 'Sixteenth-Century Private Book Inventories and Some Problems Related to their Analysis', *Library and Information History* 26, 1 (2010), pp. 70–82.

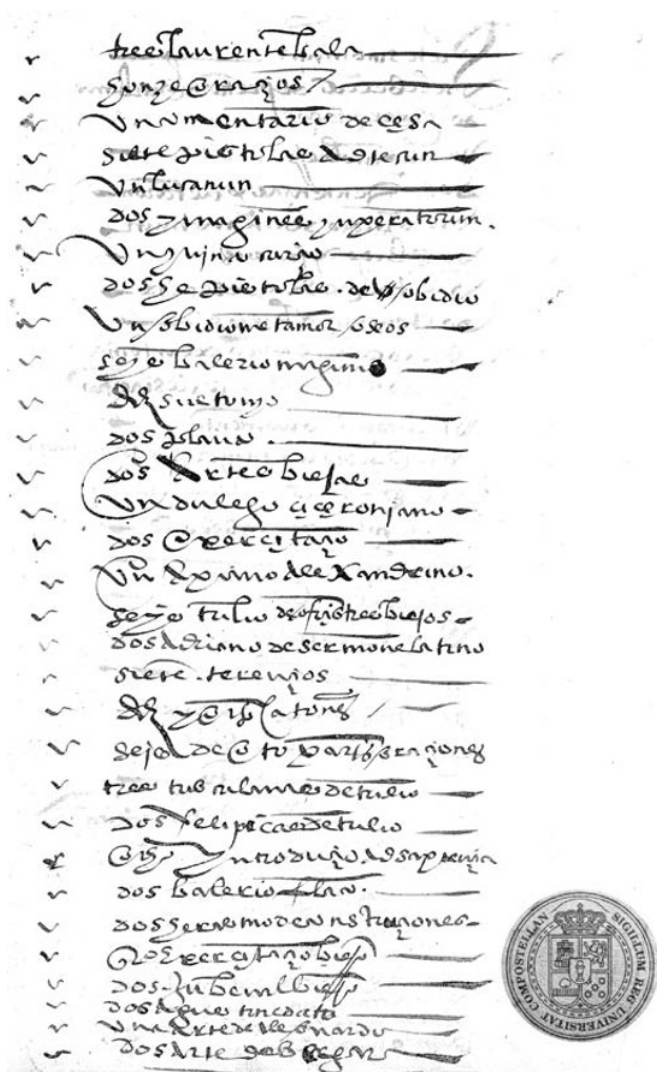


Illustration 13.1. Inventory of Beatriz Pacheco's bookshop. [A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, folio 10R].

Analysis of the inventory of Pacheco's bookshop faces such obstacles. The inventory was made by dictation and later transcribed into a protocol. Titles in foreign languages, a scribe with little Latin, and misleading transcriptions may account for the alterations that can be found in many

book descriptions.³² Additionally, most of the entries that have been correctly transcribed lack the minimum information required to relate authors and works according to modern bibliographical criteria. Abbreviated forms of authors' names and of the books' titles are frequent.³³ Many entries only mention an author and sometimes it is difficult or impossible to know if the reference is to his complete works or to a specific title.³⁴ In many cases, only a title is given.³⁵ Some titles and authors have even been changed.³⁶

In addition to these problems, because of the purpose of the inventory, it is not possible to distinguish editions, and a few works cannot even be identified. Identification of Pacheco's inventoried books cannot go beyond noting the names of the authors and/or the titles of the works. The purpose of the inventory of her bookshop, as of her other personal belongings, was merely the identification and enumeration of items; for the books this meant each volume was recorded and counted. Entries such as "dos instituta de ochabo" (entry number 54), "vn instituta grande bieja" (entry number 113), "setenta y seis artes enquadernadas" (entry number 114) or "vn lucano con comentario" (entry number 167) are merely exceptions.³⁷

Lack of knowledge of the editions of the works in Pacheco's bookshop limits enormously the understanding of her book inventory's meaning. If we apply to the book list the often accepted practice of identifying editions as those that were most recent or most highly diffused, we will produce only a very distorted image of Santiago's book culture.³⁸ The works

³² For example, "lexicon iuris hespiagel" instead of 'Lexicon iuris Spiegel' (entry number 40, fol. 8v), and "guanis baptista anaçio" instead of 'Johannes Baptista Rasarius' (entry number 304, fol. 12v).

³³ For example, "nelia de banitis" for *Tractatus insignis de bannitis* of Nello da San Geminiano (entry number 24, fol. 8r), "pratica bernal diaz" for *Practica criminalis canonica* of Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco (entry number 42, fol. 8v), "pratica foleri" for *Practica criminalis* of Pietro Follerio (entry number 61, fol. 8v), and "pratica de carreri" for *Practica causarum criminalium* of Ludovico Carerio (entry number 62, fol. 8v).

³⁴ For example, Virgil, Girolamo Fracastoro, Lorenzo Valla, Horace, Franceschino Corti and Odofredo da Bologna.

³⁵ For example, "prontuario iuris" for *Promptuarii divini iuris* of Jean de Montholon (entry number 8, fol. 7v), "silba nuncialis" for *Silva nuptialis* of Giovanni Nevizzano (entry number 16, fol. 8r), "tractatus de indiçis e tortura" for *De indices et tortura* of Francesco Bruni (entry number 17, fol. 8r), and "bocabulario eclesiastico" for *Vocabularium ecclesiasticum* of Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella (entry number 166, fol. 10v).

³⁶ For example, "artes" for *Introductiones in latinam grammaticen* of Antonio de Nebrija (entry number 1114, fol. 9v), and Hernán Núñez de Toledo for Pedro Juan Núñez (entry number 194, folio 11r).

³⁷ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fols. 8v, 9v and 10v.

³⁸ For example, the edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (entry number 168, fol. 10v) in folio with commentary by Raphael Regius (Basel, Ioan Hervagium, 1543) is very different from the

printed by Agustín de Paz and his widow are among the few editions that can be identified in the inventory. The four “confesionarios de bitoria” were probably the remains of the *Confesionario* of Francisco de Vitoria printed in 1562 (entry number 330).³⁹ The 128 “constituções” had probably been recently printed (entry number 561).⁴⁰ Ephemera were probably constantly being produced in Pacheco's press and then sold in her bookshop (entries numbers 551–565).⁴¹ Many inventoried volumes were almost certainly part of old Paz editions: three copies of “dialogo de mujeres” (entry number 264),⁴² fourteen copies of “bribiarios de mondoñedo” (entry number 316),⁴³ two copies of “comentarios de las yndias” (entry number 337),⁴⁴ five copies of “descriçion de galicia” (entry number 353),⁴⁵ two copies of “coronica despaña de floriano do campo” (entries number 425 and 465),⁴⁶ twenty-two copies of “doctrina xpiana” (entry number 455),⁴⁷ and twelve copies of “oras chequitas de casa” (entry number 530).⁴⁸

edition of that work in octavo with commentary by Henricus Glareanus and Cristophe de Longueil (Basel, Henrichum Petri, 1551). The entries I have not been able to identify may be works unknown today, but it may be that I have not been able to identify known works. Some unidentified volumes are probably works never noted before, as seems to be the case for the Courts of Valladolid of 1544 (entry number 105, fol. 9v), which is mentioned in neither the Collective Catalogue of the Spanish Bibliographical Heritage (CCPB) nor the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC). Both catalogues can be consulted online, at <http://www.mcu.es/bibliotecas/MC/CCPB/index.html> and <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/cicero/search.php> respectively.

³⁹ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 13r. Francisco de Vitoria, *Confesionario*, Santiago de Compostela, [Luis de Paz], 1562. See Odriozola and Barreiro, *Historia*, p. 142.

⁴⁰ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 17r. We know of no synodal constitutions for the archbishopric of Santiago printed around those years. See Odriozola and Barreiro, *Historia*, pp. 142–143.

⁴¹ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 17r.

⁴² A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 12r. Cristóbal de Castillejo, *Diálogo de mujeres*, Astorga: Agustín de Paz, 1546.

⁴³ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 13r. *Breviarium Mindoniensis*, Mondoñedo: Agustín de Paz, 1551. Beatriz Pacheco said in her will of 1563 that Licenciado Molina, a priest of the diocese of Mondoñedo and author of *Descripción del Reino de Galicia*, had 100 Mondoñedo breviaries at his home, probably intended for distribution in that diocese. A.H.U.S. Notarial Protocols of Santiago. File 363, document 179.

⁴⁴ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 13v. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *La relación de lo acaecido en las Indias*, Zamora: Agustín de Paz and Juan Picardo, 1542.

⁴⁵ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 13v. Licenciado Molina, *Descripción del Reino de Galicia*, Mondoñedo: Agustín de Paz, 1550.

⁴⁶ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fols. 14v and 15v. Florian de Ocampo, *Crónica general de España*, Zamora: Agustín de Paz and Juan Picardo, 1541.

⁴⁷ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 15r. Andrés de Flórez, *Doctrina cristiana* [Mondoñedo: Agustín de Paz, 1552]. See Rial, *Producción*, p. 113.

⁴⁸ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 16v. *Horas de Nuestra Señora*, Mondoñedo: Agustín de Paz, 1550. Other Agustín de Paz works such as Bartolomé Palau's *Farsa llamada Custodia* (Astorga, 1547), Francisco de la Reina's *Libro de Albeitería* (Astorga,

Although I have had some success in identifying authors and works in the inventory, establishing what books were in Beatriz Pacheco's bookshop is only a first step in studying its inventory. What does the presence of certain authors, works, titles and volumes mean? Our interpretation is tied to contemporary perceptions of each author and text. Bookshop inventories have been analysed in an attempt to ascertain the penetration of ideas into sixteenth-century society. However, scholars analysing bookshop inventories have often decontextualised the books and applied their own interpretations. They have studied sixteenth-century books with the assumption that they had the knowledge required for fully understanding the meaning readers gave to those texts, and, consequently, for understanding the use of such texts by sixteenth-century society. The practice of dividing sixteenth-century books into, for example, 'religious' and 'lay' seems simple and academic common sense. Yet such distinctions impose a set of values that does not necessarily take into account sixteenth-century values.⁴⁹

Books are texts and texts are to be read. Texts, and consequently books, are not static entities of meaning. Reading a work involves personalising a text in way that expresses a social construction of the world in a particular place and at a particular time. Readers transform texts into a cultural experience, constructing meaning and adapting them to their interpretative frameworks. Sixteenth-century readers shared certain socio-cultural structures that made particular book interpretations and uses natural and obvious, but these interpretations and uses are not easily apprehended today.⁵⁰

This phenomenon poses some important questions when we analyse the inventory of Pacheco's bookshop using modern interpretative frameworks. For example, the lack of any explicit division in the inventory of Pacheco's bookshop has driven Gelabert González to highlight its heterogeneity and to analyse its contents by arranging them into different

1547) and Juan Bautista de Villalobos' *Aerarium commune* (Mondoñedo, 1550) had probably sold out. Francisco de Evia's *Thesoro de los ángeles* (Astorga, 1547) and Girolamo Savonarola's *Devotísima exposición* (Astorga, 1547) are not present in the inventory, probably because they were included in the Inquisitorial Index of 1559. See Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, *Index de l'Inquisition espagnole* (Genève: Droz, 1984), numbers 470 and 591.

⁴⁹ This problem has been noted by Pedro M. Cátedra, Carlos A. González and Natalia Maillard. All three have proposed, however, a modern classification by subject. See Pedro M. Cátedra, *Nobleza y lectura en tiempos de Felipe II* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 2002), p. 193; and Carlos A. González and Natalia Maillard, *Orbe tipográfico. El mercado del libro en la Sevilla de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI* (Gijón: Trea, 2003), p. 82.

⁵⁰ See Rial, 'Sixteenth-Century', pp. 77–79.

modern topics.⁵¹ In his work on sixteenth-century Santiago culture, Gelabert noted that law, religion and ancient Latin works were, in that order, the most common kind of books in Pacheco's bookshop. He included under the category of 'religion' texts as varied as Bibles, sermons, Books of Hours and doctrinal texts; Spanish laws and manuals of canon and civil law were considered together; he explained the presence of ancient Latin works by reference to the spread of humanism, which would have led to an appreciation of classic texts; and he categorised as 'contemporary literature' books as disparate as 'Cancioneros', the *Elegantiorum latinae lingua* of Lorenzo Valla, books of chivalry and the *De octo orationis partium constructione libellus* of Erasmus. Gelabert, however, did not provide any indication of the criteria he was using for such categorisations.⁵²

In-depth analysis of the occurrence of certain titles and the absence of many others in Pacheco's bookshop requires us to go far beyond generalisations and modern categorisations.

The Inventory and Its Arrangement: Towards an Analysis of Its Contents

The arrangement of Pacheco's bookshop provides clues not just to its physical character but also to readers and readings, and it also throws light on questions raised by Gelabert's claims. It is reasonable to think that books placed together were inventoried together and, consequently, that the different sections of Pacheco's bookshop might be discerned from its inventory. The works of André Tiraqueau, Diego de Covarrubias, François Titelmans, Juan de Celaya and some other authors were inventoried together because they had been placed together.⁵³ It is not coincidental that Pacheco's binding tools were listed together at the end of the inventory, and that more than fifteen reams of printed ephemera, twenty-two notebooks and 128 copies of synodal constitutions were recorded together close to them.⁵⁴ Their position in the inventory almost certainly indicated their physical proximity and a certain division of the space in the bookshop.

⁵¹ Gelabert, 'Lectura', p. 173.

⁵² Gelabert, 'Lectura', pp. 173–174 and 179–180. The same considerations on reading ancient Latin authors are found in Philippe Berger, *Libro y lectura en la Valencia del Renacimiento* (Valencia: Editions Alfons El Magnánim, 1987), vol. 1, p. 286.

⁵³ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fols. 7v, 9r, 11v and 16r.

⁵⁴ Twelve volumes recorded close to the binding tools were probably being bound. A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 17r.

lawyers, notaries, bureaucrats, officials and anyone involved in legal procedures. The works with the most copies in this section are mainly books of laws: *Leyes de Toro* with eleven copies, *Pragmáticas* with nine and *Corpus iuris civilis* with six. The best represented authors in this section are the Spanish contemporary canonist Diego de Covarrubias, with eight titles, and André Tiraqueau with seven.

The second part begins with entry number 114 (folio 9v) and ends with entry number 215 (folio 11v); it contains 425 volumes, twice as many as the previous section. This second section comprises books used to learn and teach Latin. It is in this section that one finds the works of ancient Latin authors.⁵⁵ The works with the most copies in this section are those that were used extensively by Spanish grammar schools when teaching Latin. *Introductiones in latinam grammaticen* of Antonio de Nebrija has eighty copies,⁵⁶ *Disticha* of Michele Verino has fifty-nine, *Linguae latinae exercitatio* of Juan Luis Vives twenty-six, *Disticha Catonis* twenty-two and the plays of Terence twenty-one.⁵⁷ The authors with the most works in this section are Cicero, with ten, and Erasmus and Antonio de Nebrija, each with four.⁵⁸

The third group starts with entry number 216 (folio 11v) and continues to the end of the book list (folio 17r); it contains 903 volumes, more volumes than the two previous sections combined. This last part seems to have been listed casually; its contents are heterogeneous, and its potential readers or users equally so. In the third group, we find works that could appear in the first or second part, and volumes that break certain intermittent, but recognisable, thematic patterns. For example, five volumes of the jurist Peter of Ravenna (entry number 404) are in the midst of several volumes of medicine (entries number 397–418), and specifically between *Elegiae de peste* of Jean Ursin (entry number 403) and the works of Girolamo Fracastoro (entry number 405).⁵⁹ The orations of Cicero (entry number 544) come after four 'devocionarios' (entry number 543) and

⁵⁵ Grammars and some supposedly religious texts, such as the *Epistolae* of Saint Paul (entries number 207 and 209, fol. 11r), are also placed in this section.

⁵⁶ This text was much used for learning Latin and became the manual at the University of Salamanca. See Luis Gil Fernández, *Panorama social del humanismo español* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1981), pp. 96 and 670.

⁵⁷ The comedies of Terence were used at the University of Santiago in 1602 as the model of *sermo humilis*. See *Constituciones Reales de la Universidad de Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela: Luis de Paz, 1602), p. 22.

⁵⁸ The epistles of Cicero were used to teach the epistolary art in Valencia in 1561. See Domingo Yndurain, 'Las cartas en prosa', in *Literatura en la época del Emperador*, coord. Víctor García de la Concha (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca 1988), pp. 76–77.

⁵⁹ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 14v.

before two volumes of *Doctrina cordis* of Saint Bonaventura (entry number 545).⁶⁰ Two volumes of *Silva de varia lección* of Pedro Mexía (entry number 251) and two of *Vitae patrum* (entry number 252) are side by side.⁶¹ Two volumes of “romances viejos” (entry number 305) are between Johannes Baptista Rasarius (entry number 304) and *Antidotarium animae* (entry number 306).⁶²

Given these apparent inconsistencies, it is difficult to point to a single pattern in this third group. Although some consistent small sections can be recognised—mainly Latin works for the clergy and Spanish books—they are dispersed and mixed in with the rest. For example, we have fifty-seven volumes of Latin works from entry number 216 to entry number 256; forty-nine volumes of Spanish works from entry number 257 to entry number 269; sixteen volumes of Latin works from entry number 270 to entry number 285; twenty-three volumes of Spanish works from entry number 286 to entry number 296; and around twenty-five volumes of medicine between entry numbers 397 and 418.⁶³

If we turn our attention to the works with the most copies and to the authors with the most works in this third part, three characteristics become evident. First, the clergy are important to this third part of the inventory. Secondly, Spanish books that we can define with the risky term ‘mass-market books’ are relevant here. And thirdly, inconsistencies cannot be easily explained. On the one hand, we have thirty-nine volumes of Latin Hours, twenty-six Spanish ones, twenty-one volumes of *Flosculus sacramentorum* by Pedro Fernández de Villegas, eighteen Roman breviaries and sixteen *Arte de canto llano* by Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui. On the other hand, we have twenty-six volumes of Fernando Díaz de Toledo’s work on legal forms entitled *Las notas del relator* and sixteen volumes of *La Diana* of Jorge de Montemayor.

In light of the consistency of the two previous groups a simple question arises. Given the importance of the clergy as book buyers in Santiago, why was there no clear, unified and consistent section in the inventory containing books that they would have needed and used? For example, in the inventory we have fifteen copies of *Flosculus sacramentorum* of Pedro Fernández de Villegas in entry number 329, fifteen Roman breviaries in entry number 521, and nine works by the Dominican priest Domingo de

⁶⁰ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 16v.

⁶¹ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 12r.

⁶² A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 12r.

⁶³ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, ff. 11–14v.

Soto dispersed among the whole third group.⁶⁴ The clergy of Santiago undoubtedly bought such books, and there must surely have been a section for them in the bookshop. We can note a pattern based on repeated numbers of books: fifty-seven in Latin, forty-nine in Spanish, then sixteen in Latin, twenty-three in Spanish. This pattern suggests that different sections probably existed, but for a reason now unknown, the person who inventoried the bookshop jumped back and forth between them. Today it is difficult to recognise these sections in the inventory and, therefore, to know what texts were part of them. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know whether texts in Latin used by clergy, on the one hand, and 'religious' and 'lay' Spanish texts, on the other, formed two single sections or if they were divided up in some way.

The relatively small section of 'mass-market books', that is Spanish leisure works intended for a broad range of readers, remains obscure in the inventory, since works such as *Silva de varia lección* of Pedro Mexía (entry number 251), *Aritmética práctica* of Juan Pérez de Moya (entry number 257), *Arte para servir a Dios* of Alonso de Madrid (entry number 261), *La conquista de la ciudad de África* of Calvete de Estrella (entry number 262) and *De la vida solitaria* of Francesco Petrarca (entry number 266) are placed together.⁶⁵ The different sections in the bookshop clearly depicted the main players of sixteenth-century Santiago's cultural life: the archbishopric as a religious and administrative jurisdiction, the civil institutions and the university. Such sections reflect not distinct readers or social divisions as they are understood today, but different readings and varied professional and cultural needs.

Conclusion

The few comments I have made here about the book list of Beatriz Pacheco's bookshop are only the first steps of a long and difficult path to be followed as we analyse that inventory. Further issues to be explored include the influence of the Council of Trent on the bookshop and the existence of books of suspect orthodoxy, the relevance of novelties, the significance of the presence of certain titles and the absence of others, the bookshop's clients, the educational models that can be discerned in the book list, and the importance of printed ephemera.

⁶⁴ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, ff. 13r and 16v.

⁶⁵ A.H.U.S. Municipal Funds. Varia II, document 1, fol. 12r.

While the questions that remain are numerous and complex, I hope that these brief thoughts draw attention not only to Pacheco's bookshop and the challenges of analysis of bookshop inventories, both methodological and practical, but also to the richness of such inventories for book and cultural histories.

Extract of the Inventory of Beatriz Pacheco's Bookshop

Criteria for Transcription

Original word spellings have been retained, except for the use of 'j' as vowel sound, which has been changed to 'i'. Old letters have been translated into modern writing (ex.: long 's' has been changed into short 's') except for the use of 'ç'. Neither old punctuation marks nor capital letters have been transcribed. When possible, word partition has been changed into modern use. Abbreviations have been expanded and the letters added appear between square brackets. Foliation, numbering of items, ellipses and identifications are also within square brackets.

Transcription

[Fol. 9 V]

...

- [114] Setenta y seis artes encuadernadas [76 Antonio de Nebrija, *Introductiones in latinam grammaticen*]
- [115] Ocho bergilios [8 Publius Vergilius Maro, *Opera*]
- [116] Siete fabulas de isopo [7 Aesopus, *Fabulae*]
- [117] Diez pistulas de çïçeron [10 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Epistolae*]
- [118] Tres de conscribendi epistules [3 Desiderius Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis*]
- [119] Vn rretolica ad ereniun [1 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Rhetoricorum ad Herennium*]
- [120] Dos marçeal [2 Marcus Valerius Martialis, *Epigrammata*]
- [121] Vn gaudençio merule [1 Gaudenzio Merula, *Memorabilium libri*]
- [122] Vn tomas linacro [1 Thomas Linacre, *Rudimenta grammatices*]
- [123] Vn apotemas d[e] erasmo [1 Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrasis seu potius epitome*]
- [124] Dos micaeli singeri [2 Michael Syngellus, *Encomium Dionysii Areopagitae*]

[Fol. 10 R]

- [125] Tres laurente bala [3 Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiae linguae latinae*]
- [126] Honze oraçios [11 Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Opera*]
- [127] Vn comentario de çesa [1 Gaius Julius Caesar, *Rerum ab se gestarum commentarij*]
- [128] Siete pistulas alterum [7 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Alterum epistolarum volumen*]
- [129] Vn lucanun [1 Lucanus Annaeus, *De bello civili or Pharsalia*]
- [130] Dos imagines imperatorun [1 Hubertus Goltzius, *Vivae omnium fere imperatorum imagines*]
- [131] Vn quinto curçio [1 Quintus Curcius Rufus, *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*]
- [132] Dos hepistolas de obidio [2 Publius Ovidius Naso, *Heroides*]
- [133] Vn obidio metamorfoseos [1 Publius Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoseos*]
- [134] Seis balerio magimo [6 Gaius Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*]
- [135] Diez suetonio [10 Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita Caesarum*]
- [136] Dos plauto [2 Titus Maccius Plautus, *Comoediae*]
- [137] Dos artes viejas [2 Antonio de Nebrija, *Introductiones in latinam grammaticen*]
- [138] Vn dialego çiceroniano [1 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De oratore*]
- [139] Dos exerçitaçio [2 Juan Luis Vives, *Linguae latinae exercitatio*]
- [140] Vn apiano alexandrino [1 Appianus alexandrinus, *Historia Romana*]
- [141] Seis tulio de ofiçis tres viejos [6 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*]
- [142] Dos adriano de sermone latino [2 Adriano Castellesi, *De sermone latino et modis loquendi*]
- [143] Siete terençios [7 Publius Terentius Afer, *Comediae*]
- [144] Diez y ocho catones [18 *Disticha Catonis*]
- [145] Seis de oto partis oraçionis [6 Aelius Donatus, *De octo partibus orationis libellus*]
- [146] Tres tusculanas de tulio [3 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*]
- [147] Dos felipicas de tulio [2 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Philippicae*]
- [148] Ocho introduçio ad sapiençia [8 Juan Luis Vives, *Introductio ad sapientiam*]
- [149] Dos balerio flaco [2 Gaius Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*]
- [150] Dos herasmo de construçiones [2 Desiderius Erasmus, *De octo orationis partium constructione libellus*]
- [151] Q[ua]tro exerçitaçio biejo [4 Juan Luis Vives, *Linguae latinae exercitatio*]

- [152] Dos jubenal viejo [2 Decimus Junius Juvenalis, *Satirae*]
- [153] Dos agustine dato [2 Agostino Dati, *Elegantiolae*]
- [154] Vna arte de cleonardo [1 Nicolaus Clenardus, *Ars grammaticae graecae*]
- [155] Dos artes de bergara [2 Francisco Vergara, *De graecae linguae grammatica*]
- [Fol. 10 V]
- [156] Siete sinonimos [7 Stefano Fieschi, *Sinonima variationum sententiarum*]
- [157] Vn libelus de pretura hurbana [1 Antonio Cáceres Pacheco, *Libellus de praetura urbana*]
- [158] Doze exerciçaos [12 Juan Luis Vives, *Linguae latinae exercitatio*]
- [159] Vn calepino biejo [1 Ambrogio Calepino, *Dictionarium*]
- [160] Dos sentençias poetarun [2 Phocylides Milesius, *Sententiosa poetarum vetustissimorum*]
- [161] Vn obidio de arte amarun [1 Publius Ovidius Naso, *De arte amandi*]
- [162] Vn obidio de faustis [1 Publius Ovidius Naso, *De fastis*]
- [163] Vn traxedia de seneca [1 Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Tragoediae*]
- [164] Dos terenzios biejos [2 Publius Terentius Afer, *Comoediae*]
- [165] Dos bocabulario del antonio [2 Antonio de Nebrija, *Vocabularium*]
- [166] Çinco bocabulario eclesiastico [5 Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella, *Vocabularium ecclesiasticum*]
- [167] Vn lucano con comenta[rio] [1 Lucanus Annaeus, *De bello civili or Pharsalia*]
- [168] Vn obidio metamorfoços con comenta[rio] [1 Publius Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoseos*]
- [169] Vn opiano de benaçione [1 Oppianus, *De venatione*]
- [170] Vn niçolus yn çiserone [1 Mario Nizolio, *Observationes in M. Tullium Ciceronem*]
- [171] Dos bergilios [2 Publius Vergilius Maro, *Opera*]
- [172] Dos copea berborun [2 Desiderius Erasmus, *Copia verborum*]
- [173] Seis epistolas de tulio [6 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Epistolae*]
- [174] Doze terençios [12 Publius Terentius Afer, *Comoediae*]
- [175] Dos tulio de senatuten [2 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De senectute*]
- [176] Vn jacobus salbatoris [1 Jacobo Salvador Solano, *Poetica*]
- [177] Q[ua]tro agostine dato [4 Agostino Dati, *Elegantie*]
- [178] Ocho introduçio ad sapiençie [8 Juan Luis Vives, *Introductio ad sapientiam*]
- [179] Vn obide en romançe [1 Publius Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoseos*]
- [180] Vn lucanon en romançe [1 Lucanus Annaeus, *La historia que escribió en latín el poeta Lucano*]

- [181] Q[uat]ro caton con comenta[rio] [4 *Disticha Catonis*]
- [182] Vn balerio flaco [1 Gaius Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*]
- [183] Vn enbremas de alçeato [1 Andrea Alciato, *Los emblemas*]
- [184] Vn alfabetun en latino [1 *Alphabetum Latinum*]
- [185] Quarenta y q[uat]ro mical berino [44 Michele Verino, *Disticha*]
- [186] Quinze mical berino [15 Michele Verino, *Disticha*]
- [Fol. 11 R]
- [187] Dos pita poeçis [2 Barthélemy Aneau, *Picta poesis*]
- [188] Ocho exerçitaçio [8 Juan Luis Vives, *Linguae latinae exercitatio*]
- [189] Vna retorica de sanchez [1 Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, *De arte dicendi*]
- [190] Çinco laurençio bala [5 Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiorum latinae lingua*]
- [191] Q[uat]ro epistolas ad aticun [4 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Epistolae ad atticum*]
- [192] Vn arte de bergara [1 Francisco Vergara, *De graecae linguae grammatica*]
- [193] Vna arte de juanis hescopi [1 Lucio Giovanni Scoppa, *Grammaticae*]
- [194] Vna gramatica de pinçiani [1 Pedro Juan Núñez, *Institutiones grammaticae linguae graecae*]
- [195] Vna arte dispauterio [1 Johannes Despauterius, *Grammatica*]
- [196] Vna arte de hurbano griega [1 Urbano Bolzanio, *Institutionum in linguam graecam grammaticarum*]
- [197] Vn syntaxios dispavterio [1 Johannes Despauterius, *Sintaxis*]
- [198] Vn tulio de ofiçis con comento [1 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*]
- [199] Vna retorica de tulio [1 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Rethorica*]
- [200] Vn jubenal con comento [1 Decimus Junius Juvenalis, *Satirae*]
- [201] Vn bergilio con comento [1 Publius Vergilius Maro, *Opera*]
- [202] 1 Vna retorica trapesunçio [1 Georgius Trapezuntius, *Rhetorica*]
- [203] 1 Vnas hepistolas de obidio con comento [1 Publius Ovidius Naso, *Heroides*]
- [204] Vnas comunes openionis [1 Francesco Turzani, *Communes opinioniones*]
- [205] Dos apologia del antonio [2 Antonio de Nebrija, *Apologia*]
- [206] Vn sermon de san biçente ferrer [1 St. Vincent Ferrer, *Sermones hiemales*]
- [207] Vnas epistolas de san pablo [1 St. Paulus, *Epistolae*]
- [208] Vnas omelias de san gregorio [1 St. Gregorius I, *Homiliae*]
- [209] Otras epistolas de san pablo [1 St. Paulus, *Epistolae*]
- [210] Dos artes biejas de gramatica [2 Antonio de Nebrija, *Introductiones in latinam grammaticen*]

- [211] Vn persio [1 Aulo Persio Flaco, *Satirae*]
[212] Dos libros de sedulio pascali [2 Coelius Sedulius, *Opera*]
[213] Vn bergilio biejo [1 Publius Vergilius Maro, *Opera*]
[214] Vna gramatica pontaniun [1 Pierre de Ponte, *Duplex grammaticae artis isagoge*]
[Fol. 11 V]
[215] Q[ua]tro sotonius [4 Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita Caesarum*].

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

OIL AND GREEN GINGER. THE ZORNALE OF THE VENETIAN BOOKSELLER FRANCESCO DE MADIIS, 1484–1488

Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris

In 1810 a clear-out of old papers from the attic of either the *Duomo* or the *Palazzo Ducale* in Venice discovered a ledger containing a record of book sales from the end of the fifteenth century. Its historical importance was immediately understood and it was inspected by the great Venetian librarian of the time, Jacopo Morelli (1745–1819), before being placed in the State Archive at the Frari. In 1885 it obtained a first mention in print in an article by the Archive's director, Bartolomeo Cecchetti (1838–89).¹ Shortly afterwards it was transferred to the Marciana Library, where it is still found under the press-mark Ital. XI, 45 (7439). In 1891 it was described in some detail by the Scottish historian, Horatio Brown (1854–1926), who also published some extracts in an appendix to his important and well-documented book on the history of printing in Venice.² He was the first to christen it in a published work with the title, *Zornale* or day-book, which appears written in capital letters on the front of the parchment cover [Illustration 14.1], further observing that, although the original owner was not named, on the back cover was “a sign with initials”, which however he refrained from identifying. It is not clear when, but certainly by the early twentieth century, or by whom, this symbol was recognised as belonging to the publisher Francesco de Madiis, or Maggi.

Without the connection to the *Zornale*, de Madiis would be little more than a name. He or his mark appear as involved in the publication of ten Venetian editions between 1481 and 1488: the last of these, the solid tome of Menghus Blanchellus on the *Logica* of Paulus Venetus, is dated 21 March 1488, some two months after the entries in the *Zornale* abruptly cease. He certainly died some time before 17 October 1490, when his widow, Cristina

¹ Bartolomeo Cecchetti, ‘La stampa tabellare in Venezia nel 1447 e l'esenzione del dazio dei libri del 1433’, *Archivio veneto*, vol. 29 (1885), pp. 87–91.

² Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press 1469–1800. An Historical Study based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (London: Nimmo, 1891), pp. 36–39, 431–452.

Fontana, the daughter of the German printer, Franz Renner, is cited in a document.³ She went on to marry another important printer, Paganinus de Paganinis, and seems to have had a long life, since she was still alive in 1544. De Madiis was probably also active in financing editions where his name or his mark do not appear. One such is recorded in an agreement with printers Hannibal Foxius and Marinus Saracenus on 2 July 1486 to publish an edition of the *Defecerunt* of Saint Antoninus of Florence.⁴ It is interesting to note that de Madiis, as well as supplying all the paper, for which he was to obtain half the press-run, provides the type, for which he is to receive a further hundred copies. De Madiis therefore, though he did not have his own printing house, nonetheless found it worthwhile to invest in metal characters, with intriguing implications for the certainties with which incunabula are attributed to printers on the basis of the type-face. He must have been a man of substance and the volume of trade passing through the *Zornale*, especially the number of large, costly books, confirms this impression.

At the same time the attribution of the *Zornale* to Francesco de Madiis is not free from doubt. It rests, as we have said, exclusively on the symbol—an orb with a double cross (295×165 mm), the conventional sign for a stationer or bookseller—drawn on the back outside cover of the ledger, to which have been added the initials “M.F.” [Illustration 14.2].⁵ The same symbol and the same initials appear in the woodcut mark found in one edition published by de Madiis, the 1486 Petrus Lombardus [Illustration 14.3]. The problem is that nowhere inside the *Zornale* does his name appear as the owner and therefore it is difficult to know what authority should be given to the drawing. Just to complicate matters further, in an entry for 10 February 1485 (1484 in the Venetian calendar, which changed on 1 March), two copies of the Offices of the Virgin are recorded as having been given to a “franc(esc)o mazo” (f. 13v). Of course this last may be a homonym—Maggi is not a rare surname—, but the *Zornale* rarely mentions the names of customers and when it does, in about a third of

³ Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, 3rd ed. (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2003), p. 42.

⁴ R.P. [Riccardo Predelli], ‘Contratto per la stampa di un libro’, *Archivio veneto*, vol. 32 (1886), pp. 190–192. One curiosity about this edition is that, unless we believe it to be an unsigned Venetian imprint at present attributed to c. 1490 and the press of Giorgius Arrivabene (ISTC ia00823000), it cannot be identified with anything recorded in modern day incunable repertories.

⁵ A second, probably slightly later, hand has drawn the mark a second time in the top right-hand corner of the same cover (105×30 mm), but, rather than official, this appears the doodling of a bored shop assistant.

instances, they are recognisably members of the booktrade. If on the other hand “Francesco Mazo” were the small-scale publisher, he would not acquire books from his own shop. So when the evidence is pondered, though it remains the most credible hypothesis, the idea that the ledger belonged to Francesco de Madiis cannot be taken as certain.

In physical terms the *Zornale* measures 430×160 mm and is an agenda folio on chancery sheets, in which the fold runs parallel to the long side. It is assembled in eight gatherings of twenty leaves, giving a total of 160 leaves. All the sheets bear the watermark of a bow and arrow (32 × 31 mm) [Illustration 14.4], deriving however from at least three separate pairs of moulds. The first recto was left blank, though subsequently a list of just under thirty titles was written in, together with a rather obscure note about how to account for them in stock-taking terms. The real record begins on the verso, with an entry dated 17 May 1484, and continues without significant interruption up to f. 114r, where the final entry was made on 23 January 1488 (1487 *more veneto*), making an unbroken account of three years, eight months, and one week. No explanation is provided as to why the record suddenly ceases. Leaves 114v to 140v are blank. On f. 141r, in an entry again dated 17 May 1484, appears an inventory of the stock in trade, amounting to 1,337 items.⁶ For just over a year, up to 4 June 1485, further additions are recorded and it will be interesting to compare the two listings in detail. Again the record breaks off without explanation after f. 149v, which has a single cancelled entry, with the following leaves remaining blank. The final leaf is taken up with summaries of the takings, usually done on a weekly basis, and a note about holidays, on which the shop was supposed to remain closed or semi-closed. A mention of Rialto in this last tells us that the shop was located in the bookselling district in the heart of the city.

For its scale, for its detail, and for its importance as a fly-on-the-wall documentary of what happened in a Renaissance Venetian bookshop, the *Zornale* is unique. Although documents relating to the book trade in fifteenth-century Italy are not rare, they are on the whole different. The most famous, the so-called *Diario* of the Ripoli printing shop in Florence from 1476 to 1484 is a composite manuscript with jottings relating to editions and to sales: although the level of detail is higher than the *Zornale*, it

⁶ Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, p. 38, with a transcription of the same at pp. 431–452; Martin Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 179.

is more erratic and incomplete.⁷ Geographically closer and more similar to the *Zornale*, since it includes the prices of the books, is a list consigned by the bookseller-publisher Antonio Moretto to one Domenico Gillio for sale in a shop in Padua on 27 February 1480. The initial listing contains just under two hundred titles, to which further consignments of some forty and twenty titles are added on 3 April and 4 May.⁸ Otherwise the commonest book lists are *post-mortem* inventories: the largest and most impressive of these, for the shop of Platone de' Benedetti in Bologna in 1497, records almost eleven thousand copies described in just under 750 entries, though the frequency of the repetitions, which probably distinguish separate editions, means that the number of titles is lower, approximately 650.⁹ Differently from the *Zornale*, however, such inventories are always stock that the shop has *not* sold.

The interpretation of the Venetian ledger is not, on the other hand, a straight-forward one, since, as the sample transcription shows all too clearly, the entries are extremely succinct, making the identification of the editions concerned uncertain and arduous. But the principal challenge is its size. According to the only scholar so far to have counted all the entries, it records the sale, or exchange, or gift, of 12,934 books for a value of 4,240 ducats and five *lire*.¹⁰ This same scale and the lack of a trustworthy edition also explain its limited critical fortune. Older references draw mostly on the misleading extracts supplied by Brown 120 years ago. In 1957 Rosanna Saccardo transcribed the first year of sales and provided a bibliographical

⁷ See Melissa Conway, *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli (1476–1484). Commentary and Transcription* (Florence: Olschki, 1999), and also the three-way discussion between Neil Harris, Melissa Conway, and Nicolas Barker on the demerits and merits of the edition of this text, collectively published as 'The Ripoli Diary', *The Book Collector*, vol. 50 (2001), pp. 10–50.

⁸ See Rinaldo Fulin, 'Nuovi documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana', *Archivio veneto*, vol. 23 (1882), pp. 390–405. For further information about the book-seller and publisher Antonio Moretto, see Patricia Osmond-Ennio Sandal, 'La bottega del libraio-editore Antonio Moretto: editoria e commercio librario a Venice, c. 1480–1518', in *The Books of Venice*, Lisa Pon and Craig Kallendorf (eds), (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; Lido di Venezia, La Musa Talia; New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2008) ('Miscellanea Marciana', vol. XX, 2005–2007), pp. 231–250.

⁹ See Albano Sorbelli, 'La libreria di uno stampatore bibliofilo del Quattrocento', in *Studi e ricerche sulla storia della stampa del Quattrocento. Omaggio dell'Italia a Giovanni Gutenberg nel V centenario della sua scoperta*, a cura del Ministero della Educazione Nazionale e della Associazione Italiana Biblioteche (Milano: Hoepli, 1942), pp. 259–336.

¹⁰ Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, p. 181. Our first work-in-progress count gives, however, 6,950 sales, made up of 11,000 entries and over 25,000 copies, obviously a considerable difference with respect to Lowry's figures.

identification of the editions concerned.¹¹ Although this essay never progressed beyond the equivalent of a typescript M.A. thesis at the University of Padua, its utility is acknowledged by some subsequent scholars, including ourselves, while Saccardo continued her career as librarian and director of the city library in Mestre. In 1987–88, as part of a project at the Getty Research Institute in California, Martin Lowry, at the time professor of modern history at the University of Warwick, reversed the contents of the *Zornale* into a pioneering humanities database. The computer analysis furnished the basis of an important chapter in the second of what was intended as a trilogy of historical monographs about the Renaissance Venetian publishing industry.¹² Following on from those on Aldus and Jenson, the figure of Francesco de Madiis would probably have had a pivotal role in the third volume, but the plan was interrupted by the author's sudden and untimely death in the late summer of 2002.¹³ In the mid 1980s one of the writers of the present article, Neil Harris, while working on a bibliography of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, began to take an interest in the *Zornale*. The reason lay in its record in 1484 and 1485 of sales of an "Inamoramento de orlando", belonging to the lost *princeps* of the poem, published most likely in Reggio Emilia late in 1482 or very early in 1483. In the context of a larger Boiardo project promoted by the Istituto di Studi Rinascimentali di Ferrara, the *Zornale* featured in an exhibition held in the autumn of 1987 in Ferrara and in the spring of 1988 in Reggio Emilia.¹⁴

A proper scholarly edition of the *Zornale* seemed a logical continuation of the Boiardo enterprise and the idea was welcomed with enthusiasm by Martin Lowry. During the 1990s a complete transcription was conducted in manuscript, making it possible to acquire familiarity with the conventions and handwritings of the original, as well as to decipher the palimpsest of

¹¹ Rosanna Saccardo, *Il «Zornale» di una libreria veneziana del Quattrocento*, Università degli Studi di Padova, Scuola Storico-filologica delle Venezie (perfezionamento per bibliotecari), 1956–57, supervisor Tullia Gasparini Leporace. It was exploited in particular by Leonardas Vytautas Gerulaitis, *Printing and Publishing in Fifteenth-century Venice* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1976), p. 3, who describes it as an "unpublished thesis on this MS: Rovanna [!] Saccardo".

¹² Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, chapter 7, 'The Printer, the Reader and the Market', pp. 173–206. The principal account of the *Zornale* at present available in Italian is for the most part a summary of Lowry, see Nuovo, *Il commercio librario*, pp. 41–44.

¹³ On the figure of Martin Lowry (1940–2002), see the obituary by Dennis E. Rhodes in *La Bibliofilia*, vol. 105 (2003), p. 93–98.

¹⁴ See *I libri di «Orlando innamorato»* (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1987), containing a brief article by Patrizia Ceccarelli on the *Zornale* ('Il «Zornale» di Francesco de' Madiis e i romanzi di cavalleria', pp. 101–103); also Neil Harris, *Bibliografia dell'«Orlando innamorato»* (Modena: Panini, 1988–91), vol. 1, pp. 16–17.

minute corrections and modifications, where a change is visible through a difference in the colour of the ink. With teaching and a busy academic career making it impossible to progress in so big an endeavour, the project stalled for well over a decade. A solution arrived with the involvement of Cristina Dondi, who began her own transcription in Excel, in the first place as a means of structuring, retrieving, and comparing an enormous amount of data. This is the version, suitably revised, used here, while we have decided to unite our forces and approach the task of editing this huge document together.

In a volume of conference acts there is not room for the entire *Zornale*, any more than Gulliver could have fitted into a Lilliputian sitting room. At the same time it is a pity not to give a flavour of the original, so we publish here a sample of one month's activity, June 1484. Since in many respects the *Zornale* is a repetitive document, it gives a good idea of the whole, though, to understand the scale of the same, the sample should be multiplied fifty-fold. A summary of the month's activity appears in Table 14.1, showing the number of sales, entries, copies, and monies viewed on a daily basis.

We add an important detail lacking from the original, the day of the week. In the said month books were sold on 18 separate days, with the Saturdays proving especially busy. The note at the end of the ledger shows that the shop was closed on Tuesday, 15 June, for the feast day of Saint Vitus. The other holiday, on 26 June for the feast day of Saint Mark, is asterisked for semi-closure, in which "se tene aperto a mezo et non si mete fora robe in la balcone".¹⁵ Perhaps because it was a Saturday, sales nonetheless seem to have been brisk. An element of caution is also needed before presuming that the shop was closed on a particular date: on four separate days only one sale occurs and therefore it is plausible that on others the shop was open and no books were sold. On the other hand, given the general pattern, it is difficult to explain why on Saturday 19 June no sales happened and the shop appears to have been closed. The pattern of opening and closure will therefore have to be compared with other sources in order to understand commercial activity in the Venice of its time.

A complete edition of the *Zornale* will tell us a great deal about Renaissance bookselling, but there is much it does not tell us and in some ways it remains an enigmatic document. Most strikingly, it only records

¹⁵ Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, p. 451 ['we are to be half open and goods are not to be put outside on the balcony'].

the sale of books. But what about the other things the shop presumably sold? Paper? Parchment? Writing materials? Sealing wax? Souvenirs of Venice? What little we know of Renaissance bookshops suggests that they were multi-faceted emporia and so it has to be presumed that the *Zornale* was one of two or more registers employed in parallel, where the interesting fact is that the accounts relating to printed books are separated from the other items. Another important question is whether it should be considered as one in a sequence of ledgers, begun because the previous one was full up. The answer is unequivocally that it is a once-off, since the opening pages exhibit practices subsequently and quickly abandoned, such as the use on the opening day, 17 May 1484, of writing “venduto” (sold) after every entry, or the summaries of the takings on a weekly basis reported in a separate section at the end of the ledger, a practice soon interrupted in favour of including them in the main sequence. If the account-keeping had transited from an earlier document with well-established habits, these variations would not appear and thus the implication is that the bookshop opened for the first time in May 1484 or, at the very least, operated under new management.

Previous scholars have also assumed, for the most part tacitly, that all the entries in the *Zornale* were made by the same person. In fact there are two principal, albeit fairly similar, hands, and occasional entries made by other people. In our sample transcription most of the entries belong to the first, neater, more precise hand; the second, less tidy, hand, however, occasionally intervenes, writing, for instance, the last three entries for 3 June, at the bottom of f. 2r, as well as the date and the first entry on 5 June, and the last entry on the same day; it reappears again on 9 June to enter the date and the first sale of the day. Though neither hand is wholly consistent, the slight difference in personality manifests itself, for instance, in the formulation of the date, where the second hand writes “de zugno” rather than just “zugno”. A full account of the handwriting and the distinction between the hands will be an important feature of our work on the edition, but it is also a task of no small complexity. The analysis of the handwriting further raises the issue of the way the *Zornale* was compiled. Although there are exceptions, the overall impression, especially when a main hand is involved, is that the entries for a whole day, sometimes more than a day, were usually written up at the same moment, otherwise it is difficult to explain the consistency of the handwriting and the evenness of the colour of the ink. One reasonable assumption therefore is that, rather than having the entries made as the sales happened, the ledger is a fair copy into which the list was transferred from rougher notes. Its purpose might

21 June	Monday	3	3	1	3			d1£1s11	155
22 June	Tuesday	6	6		8	1		d3£-s-	372
23 June	Wednesday	1	3		5			d-£1s10	30
X									
25 June	Friday	1	1		1			d-£2s-	40
26 June	Saturday	11	16		19	3(+3)		d6£-s11	755
X									
28 June	Monday	4	8		8			d6£-s12	756
X									
30 June	Wednesday	6	8		8			d4£1s4	520
Total		97	139	2	175	4(+3)	3	d76£3s7	9491

¹ Partial barbers, i.e. money and goods, appear in brackets.

thus have been to show the progress of sales to an external proprietor, who is perhaps the person we identify with the “second hand”. In June 1484 this person was not present all the time, but a sign of his visits appears maybe in the phrases “Retrato” (4 June), “fatto saldo” (5, 10, and 12 June), and “Saldata la cassa” (28 June), signifying cash withdrawals or summaries of the takings, which happen frequently during the day’s activity rather than, as might seem more practical, at the end of it.

The total of sales in the month is 97, amounting to 139 entries and 175 copies. To these should be added a Dante on 16 June and a Bible on 21 June, where the entries have been struck out: in the latter case the price has been entered, implying that it was sold and returned. If our identifications are correct, the said totals correspond to just over a hundred editions, but it is not possible to give an exact figure, since some entries plausibly comprehend more than one imprint.¹⁶ Not all the entries, strictly speaking, were sales. On 22 June a Diurnal—elsewhere sold for £ 1—was given to Francesco Gradenigo: why we are not told, though the note about the recipient is written in over the line traced for the blank part of the entry and thus seems to have been added as an afterthought. In another truly delightful entry on 26 June three books are part sold and part bartered: the bookseller records that he has received £ 2 s 10 and that the rest is due to be paid in “green ginger”. Looking at the three titles concerned—Cicero’s *Epistolae ad familiares*, with commentary, elsewhere priced at £ 3; a *Vitae patrum* in Italian, usually sold at £ 2; and the grammar of Guarino da Verona, which had a standard price of 10 *soldi*—the total adds up to £ 5 s 10. So the barter amounted to £ 3’s worth of ginger! Slightly later on the same day the bookseller exchanged three volumes for presumably a large quantity of oil, given the face value of d 1 £ - s 6.

Turning to the genuine purchases, the sale of multiple copies of a particular title occurs quite frequently. In cases such as breviaries or Latin

¹⁶ The bookseller makes a single entry of parts VI and VII of the *Corpus iuris canonici* (see the entries for Bonifacius VIII and Clemens V), as well as of the grammars of Leonicens and Perottus, which bibliographical repertories treat separately. To this should be added the eternal bibliographical dilemma of whether to treat Petrarch’s *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi* as one or two separate editions, as well as the suspicion that the title *Lamento della Vergine Maria* hides more than one imprint. The *Zornale* should be taken as contemporary evidence that such editions were intended to be sold as a unit, as is borne out by the copies of the same still bound together, for example the copies of Perottus and Omnibonus printed by De Boninis, c. 1483, in the Corsiniana Library in Rome and in the Vatican Library. In other instances copies have been separated in rebinding, but the similar physical characteristics show that they were once bound together. Another text that often travelled together with Perottus’ *De generibus metrorum* is Servius’s *Centimetrum*, also printed by de Boninis c. 1483, copies of which are bound together in the Bodleian and in the National Library at Vienna.

grammars, the explanation lies in worship or in teaching; in others it may be that a bookseller from outside Venice is buying for the trade. Although the majority of these sales involve no more than two or three copies at a time, on 1 June a buyer takes seven copies of Cicero's *De officiis* and in the immediately following entry the bookseller disposes of seven copies of Menghus Blanchellus. Since seven and seven is unlikely to be a coincidence, we cannot always presume that separate entries signify separate purchasers. The other feature deserving remark involves block purchases, sometimes including multiple copies of particular titles, such as on 6 June when, probably, another bookseller acquires a total of twelve copies of six works for the imposing sum of four ducats.¹⁷ When we have a comprehensive picture of sales and prices, it will be possible to say whether this buyer obtained a discount. Saturday 12 June brings the most noteworthy purchase of the month, when one person buys sixteen books, all in Italian, evidently for his own perusal and pleasure. Even the bookseller was impressed, since he departed from his usual practice and recorded the client's name, Alvise Capello.

The staple concern of the ledger is money. The *Zornale* deals in the ancient duodecimal system older English readers might remember as pounds, shillings, and pence, abbreviated as £ s d, except that the smallest denomination, the *denaro*, of which twelve made up a *soldo*, is not considered. Perhaps books were too expensive a commodity to be priced in such small fractions. Twenty *soldi* make a *lira*, whose crossed l is still employed, even in our decimal era, as the symbol for a pound. The remaining column is for the ducat, which constituted a gold super-currency. One ducat was the equivalent of 6 *lire* and four *soldi* or, more simply, 124 *soldi*. What are these coinages worth in today's money? Comparisons are invidious and rarely convincing, given the enormous differences in the value of consumer goods and alterations in social hierarchies, but it is possible to obtain a rough idea.¹⁸ In Rome in the 1470s ten ducats was the price of a

¹⁷ Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, p. 179, writes of this entry that "an unnamed buyer [...] spent 4 ducats on eighteen assorted volumes of classical literature and philosophy. Since he took three copies of Cicero's *Tuscan Disputations*, two of Valerius Maximus, and seven of Aquinas's commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* it is possible that this customer was a bookseller from an outlying community who intended to resell the volumes". Unfortunately all the figures are wrong. The total is twelve volumes, including two Ciceros, three Valerius Maximus, and one Aquinas: in the last case a "2" was changed to read 1 and the resulting superimposition can be misinterpreted as a 7. On careful inspection however there is no doubt about the correct reading.

¹⁸ One valuable source for comparative pricing is Frederic C. Lane-Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985–97).

horse: obviously there were horses and horses, just as there are cars and cars, but a parallel can be found in the cost of an ordinary city runabout, such as a Fiat Punto, perhaps with some mileage on the clock. In the same period Platina's monthly salary as Vatican librarian was also ten ducats, which we can confront with the yearly remuneration of the head of the British Library, advertised at the end of 2011 as being in six figures. On this basis a single ducat seems the equivalent of £ 700 to £ 800 in our terms. The total takings for June 1484 are a little over 76 ducats, to which should be added a further d 1 £ 4 s 6, for the equivalent value of the books gifted or bartered: if we assume a classic bookselling mark up, where production costs are one third of the price, marketing and selling another third, and the final third is profit, the bookshop seems to have a nice turnover.

The key to a proper edition of the *Zornale* will be an effective and easily understood critical apparatus, as well as an index able to tell us how many copies of a particular title are sold and when. Numbering presents however a dilemma: should it be of the sales, the entries, or the copies? Previous examples of Renaissance book lists, for the most part *post-mortem* inventories, have mostly employed a lay-out in which numbered entries are keyed to a footnote containing an identification of the work, the probable edition, and other relevant information. Such lists, however, are mostly short and have the advantage that titles usually appear only once, so that there is a limited amount of cross-referencing. In the *Zornale* the scale of the document and the fact that several titles appear more than a hundred times makes any such solution unworkable.

Our way round the problem, at least in this trial sample, is to construct a "discursive index", or a parallel listing of the titles that covers the function both of the critical apparatus and of the index. One fundamental assumption is that our future edition of the *Zornale* will be in two volumes, so that a user will be able to consult the transcription in one volume and the apparatus *cum* index in the other. One immediate and important advantage of this solution is that it allows us to keep the transcription itself simple and unencumbered. The forms of all the entries in the ledger will appear in alphabetical order, in most cases with a cross-reference to the index-entry comprising the author and/or the title, for instance the title *Morgante* cross-refers to the author Pulci, Luigi. In a few cases the headings are the same (for instance, *Platina*) or are contiguous in the sequence (for instance, *Persio cum commento* and Persius). The index-entries will be ordered according to their modern headings, though we take account of the special conventions governing the cataloguing of

incunabula and follow the Latin-based model of the *ISTC*, with cross-referencing from headings that would have arisen had we employed other cataloguing codes. Where we shall differ from *ISTC* will be in the preference for some more precise author identifications, for instance Johannes de Caulibus instead of Pseudo-Bonaventura. Following the standard modern title in the index-entry, we provide in parenthesis the form or forms that appear in the *Zornale*, so that a reader knows in turn what to look for in the transcription.

In general the identification of the work is straightforward; the difficulty lies in deciding which edition it might be. The *Zornale* distinguishes only when the shop had more than one version of the same title in stock, sometimes involving a difference of format, sometimes a difference of printer. In most cases however the reference contains only the title. Our working assumption, also for eventual biblio-statistical purposes, is that it is the most recent Venetian imprint, though we are aware that it is a necessarily fragile assumption and at times evidence—usually in the price—emerges that constrains us to argue otherwise. In some cases of course we find several Venetian editions produced in a short space of time, all of which are equally likely (for instance, the three editions of Persius, all published in 1482). There are also plenty of occasions in which there is no plausible Venetian edition and therefore the item must come from the outside, most often Milan, but also Verona, Ferrara, Rome, and even Naples. In our sample from June 1484 there is no reason to think that any edition was printed outside Italy, but some cases arise in later years. While the *Zornale* on the whole markets substantial books, whose editions are documented in a significant number of copies, in some areas, most notably school and devotional texts, survival rates are low and many imprints have been lost. The same holds true for works that attracted avid readers, especially chivalric romances, where numerous editions have again disappeared in their entirety. In these cases we refer to the closest extant imprint, but weigh the evidence for lost editions (for instance, the *Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae*).¹⁹

In a market where between 50% and 70% of the production cost of an edition involved the paper, a physical description is the key to

¹⁹ On the arguments for a high percentage of lost editions in fifteenth-century printing, see Neil Harris, 'La sopravvivenza del libro ossia appunti per una lista della lavandaia', *Ecdotica*, vol. 4 (2007), pp. 24–65; Jonathan Green, Frank McIntyre, and Paul Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 105 (2011), pp. 141–175.

understanding the price of the book.²⁰ For the edition deemed most likely to be the one sold in the *Zornale*, we furnish the format, the collational formula, the total number of leaves, as well as other elements determinant in price-terms, such as printing in red and black, illustrations, etc. Though we believe that an exhaustive physical description is superfluous, given the ready availability of repertories for incunabula, both traditional and online, in instances where a discrepancy emerges between the standard title and the form of the same in the *Zornale*, we transcribe those elements in the printed book that allow us to understand what the purchaser saw as the book passed over the counter. For instance, the prose chivalric romance *Merlin*, sold on 12 June, is recorded as “Profetie de Merlino”: the reason for this title is not apparent in the published bibliographical descriptions, but a glance at the book finds it as a phrase in the chapter index and elsewhere in the paratext.

The second part of the index-entry charts the sale pattern. Obviously in the sample represented by only a month, the numbers are never considerable, although one title, the *Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae*, does realise eight sales and twelve copies. When we have the full account of almost four years of activity, several titles will top the hundred and more mark, so that these examples are to be viewed as the foundation of a much larger architecture. In our trial sample, rather than number the sales, entries, or copies, we exploit the fact that the sales pattern, scrupulously registered on a daily basis, is self-indexed into manageable units: in the said month there are more than ten sales on only two occasions and most are considerably less. Our apparatus therefore provides the date, whether the book sold on its own or as part of a group, and the price. In most cases prices are constant, though even in this narrow space of time some

²⁰ For practical reasons we do not include in the sample, though it is our intention to do so in the full edition, accurate information about sheet-sizes, at least according to the four basic measurements of imperial, royal, median, and chancery, on which see Paul Needham, ‘Res papirea: Sizes and Formats of the Late Medieval Book’, in P. Rück (ed.), *Rationalisierung der Buchherstellung im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Ergebnisse eines buchgeschichtlichen Seminars der Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel 12.-14. November 1990)*, (Marburg an der Lahn: Institut für historische Hilfswissenschaften, 1994), pp. 123–145. The obstacles here lie in the fact that, apart from some token indications in *ISTC*, repertories of fifteenth-century printing are neglectful on the issue of sheet-sizes and often compound the omission by not providing information about copy measurements. Once we have established the list of the most likely editions, our procedure will therefore be to collect information about the sizes of copies in libraries, with the additional handicap that those in major collections have a higher likelihood of having been cut down, and from there proceed to a direct inspection in order to reconstruct the measure of the original sheets.

oscillation occurs: the Bible published by Franz Renner sells for £ 5 s 10 on 10 June and £ 4 s 4 on 16 June. Over the long term it is possible that the copies of the edition in stock were substituted with another containing fewer sheets, as was the general tendency in printing at the time, without the reason for the drop in price being made manifest, so we shall have to keep a weather eye to shifts in the publishing situation. We complete the sale record with a calculation of the cost per sheet of the edition sold.²¹

Some entries, however, exhibit copy-specific features altering the price. As will remain standard practice in publishing up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, books were sold unsewn and unbound. Bindings were an extra cost for the purchaser and a considerable one. In our sample of 175 copies, just eleven are sold bound: it is instructive to compare the price of a large Bible marketed “*ligata*” on 10 June for 5 ducats, whereas unbound, in a struck-out entry on 21 June, the price is d 2 £ 5 s 10. Binding therefore ensures an increment of about 80%, though again the quality of the work and materials would cause the expense to vary.²² The inclusion of bound books also raises the issue as to whether some items were “second-hand”, since there is no reason to suppose that a Renaissance shop would deal exclusively in new books. The other important *extra* distinguishing some copies in our sample involves the *Ars minor* of Donatus sold on 3 and 12 June with the note “in carta bona”: in the first case a single copy for 2 *lire*, in the second a pair of copies for £ 3 s 10. The standard price for a Donatus is 10 *soldi*: on 23 June two copies, together with two “*Psalterioli da puti*”, and a Guarinus, sell for a bargain £ 1 s 10. The fourfold increase in the price of the earlier copies is justified by their being printed on parchment. While we tend to think of parchment or vellum as a luxury support for bibliophiles, in the *Zornale* the prime reason is robustness.²³ Books on parchment are destined exclusively for classrooms or for worship and, despite their strength, few have survived.

Albeit less condensed than a numbered index, a discursive apparatus appears a better way of coherently plotting the sales pattern for each and every title. Subordinate indexes will be necessary in order to analyse the

²¹ Rather than give the cost per sheet as a decimal of a larger coin, we apply the conventions of Renaissance currency and employ the *denaro*, of which twelve made up a *soldo* and 240 a *lira*. In the calculation the price in ducats, *lire*, and *soldi*, is transformed into *denari* and divided by the number of sheets in the book, established on the basis of the collational formula. Most prices fall into the 5–10 *denari* range, but some significant, and not always easily explained, oscillations also occur.

²² Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, pp. 189–190.

²³ Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson*, pp. 188–189.

block purchases, as well as providing a guide to the publishers of the editions most likely to have been sold through the *Zornale*. A further intriguing index will sum up the information about the people named therein as purchasers and otherwise, and about the barterers—the oil and the green ginger—that provide a fascinating insight into bookselling existence. Even in this limited sample, the quality of the document we propose to edit for the history of the Renaissance booktrade should be fully apparent. This article is a trial run for the larger enterprise and so we shall be glad to receive comments and suggestions, or enter into correspondence with scholars, about what we present here.²⁴

²⁴ We thank the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, for permission to reproduce the photographs and transcribe the text of the *Zornale*, as well as to the staff of the library for their enthusiastic support for this project. We also thank the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati di Siena for permission to reproduce the image of de Madiis' publisher's mark in their copy of Petrus Lombardus.



Illustration 14.1. *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis. Front cover. [Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ital. XI, 45 (7439)]



Illustration 14.2. *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis. Back cover. [Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ital. XI, 45 (7439)]

sunt aliqui transire ad illos: sed non possunt quia si dei iustitia admittet non fuerit eis molesta liberatio illorum, vel ita dicantur velle et non possent quod velint et non possunt: sed quia si vellet: non possent eos iurare. De hoc ita Gregori ait. Sicut reprobi a penis ad gloriam sanctorum transire volunt et non possunt: ita iusti per misericordiam mente ire volunt ad positos in tormentis et eos liberent: sed non possunt: quia iustorum anime et si in nature sue bonitate misericordiam habent: iam tunc auaritia sui iusticie conuincit: tanta recrudine constringitur: ut nulla ad reprobos compassione moueantur.

Quod vis impiorum pena non minuit beatorum gloriam.

Postremo queritur an vis pena reproborum de colore gloriam beatorum: an eorum beatitudini proficiat. De hoc ita ait Gregori super lucam apud animum iustorum non fuit beatitudinem aspecta pena reproborum: quia ubi iam passio miserie non erit: minuire beatorum letitiam non valebit. et licet iustus sua gaudia sufficiat: ad maiorem tamen gloriam videntur penas malorum: quas per gratiam euaserunt: quia quod claritatem vident: nihil in creatura agitur quod videre non possint. Non est autem mirandum si sancti iam immortales reprobos videant mentis intelligentia: cum propter hoc ad beatitudinem videre nec omnia meruerunt. Egrediantur enim electi non loco: sed intelligentia vel visione manifesta ad videndum impiorum cruciatibus: quos videntes non dolore afficiuntur: sed letitia saturantur: agentes gratias de sua liberatione: vis impiorum ineffabili calamitate. Unde ysaias impiorum tormenta describens: et eorum visione letitiam bonorum exprimens ait. Egrediantur electi: et videbunt cadauera virosorum: qui peruariati sunt in me: vermis eorum non morietur: et ignis non exinguetur: et erunt visus ad satisfactionem visionis omnium: carni id est electis. letabitur enim iustus cum viderit vis dicam.

Hec de pedibus sedentis super solium exaltati: quos seraphim duobus alis velabant: scriptori etsi non audito commemorasse sufficiat: qui a facie eius vis sedentis per media ad pedes visus: via ducere peruenit.

celeberrimus ac famosissimus sententiarum liber magistri Petri lombardi sacre theologie doctoris cumque feliciter explicat. Impressus Venetiis anno dni. 1486. die xxi. martij. Laus dei et virginis marie.

Registrum.

a	qui p misterio	m	credente quod
Prima vacat	Qd cu peccatu	mano visu	
cupientes aliqd	g	obseruanda sit	
tur relatiue	vires itentiois	potest. nutritur	
Incipit scriaz	fraudabit: aut	n	
b	vero: qd ali	et con alio	
parris sciencia	de illo qui pro	Lutius rei sacra	
nunc de morte	b	mentiam suam	
humano modo	inuisibiliter malu	capalli. vnde vt	
omnia viua	qsc exaltatione	o	
c	vt eni tunc	sumimus in	
propterea esse	scda vel prima	crucis et semel	
q: per eam	i	mus et plangede	
datur a scipso	no tradit ex	inter flagella	
illos eadem ro	iniquitate vel	p	
d	oziri posset	sed omnis in	
genita vel	clinario a bono	sciendum est	
filius vel qua	k	peccauit et no	
tur no enim	bouitate estimas	debent q alijs	
pater et filius	Incipit tabula	q	
e	Incipit liber	modo extinguat	
potest spiritus	q: plus gre	concellerat	
les et circūscri	l	de viro q	
terminatio. i.	ortis illa lūma	De copula serui	
potest modo	sciuit ala illa	r	
f	timuisse quia	in a. et re.	
qonū ita	pater inquit si	tas dicitur	
hui vt aplos		De sententia	

Impressum venetijs opera et impensa Fracisci de Madijs per Hannibale Parmensem et socios.

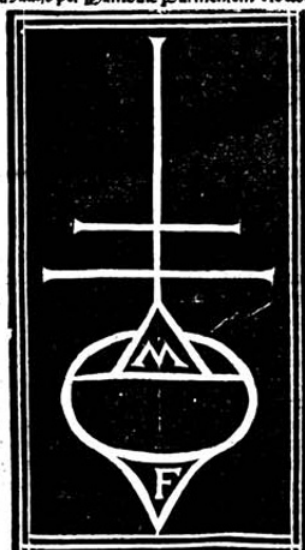


Illustration 14.3. The publisher's mark of Francesco de Madiis in Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiarum libri IV*, (Venice: Hannibal Foxius for Franciscus de Madiis, 1486) [Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati]

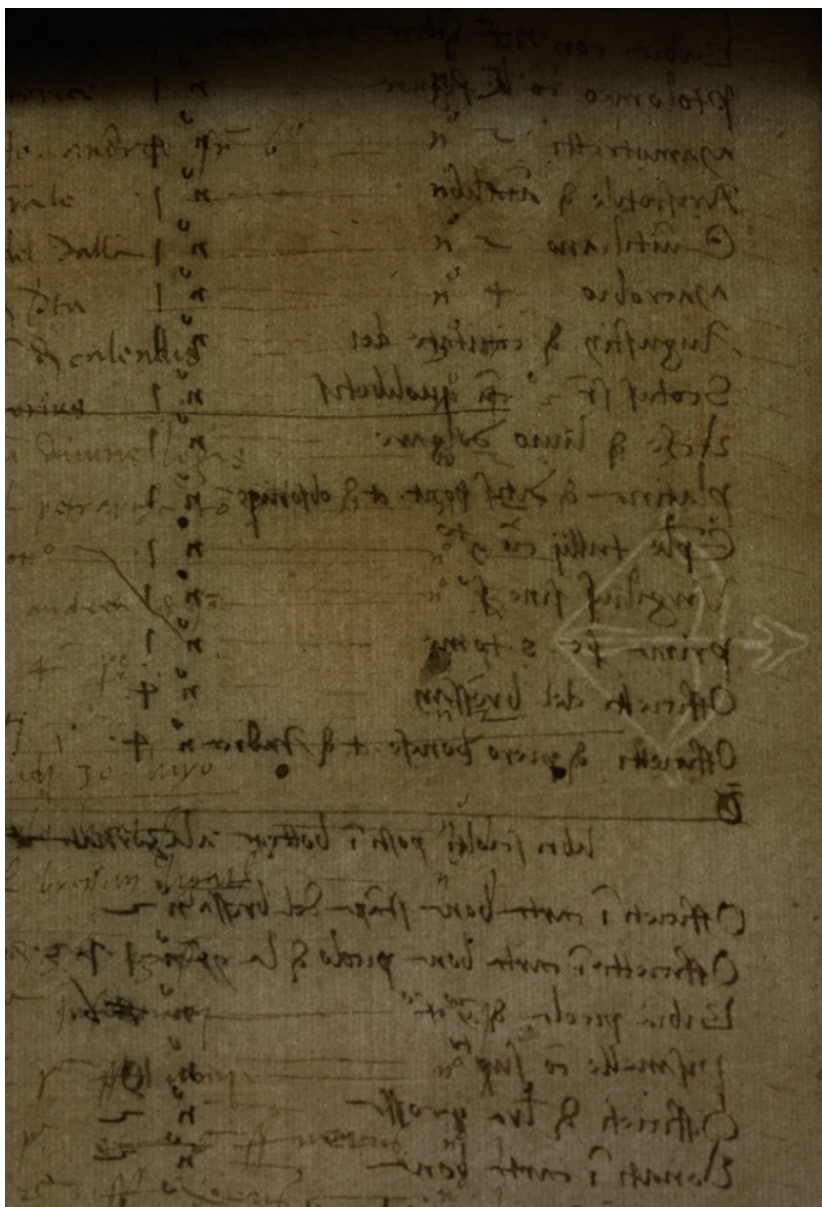


Illustration 14.4. *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis, f. 144v. Bow and arrow watermark. [Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ital. XI, 45 (7439)]

Transcription of the *Zornale* for the month June 1484, ff. 2r-3v.¹

					f. 2r
adi. primo. zugno					
Catolicon	n° 1	d	£ 6	s -	
Deche de ² biondo	n° 1	d	£ 4	s 10	
Dante con comento	n° 1	d 1	£ -	s -	
Pomponio mella	n° 1	In summa	£ -	s 4	
Sexto e clementine piccolo	n° 1				
Aulo gelio	n° 1				
Iuniano	n° 1				
Plinio literale	n° 1				
Psalmista in greco	n° 1	d 2	£ -	s -	
Tullius de officiis cum comento	n° 7				
Mengo	n° 7	d 1	£ 1	s -	
adi. 2. zugno					
³ Psalmista grande	n° 1	d	£	s 15	
Petrarcha con comento	n° 1	d	£ 3	s -	
Bibia de mastro francesco	n° 1	d	£ 4	s -	
Legendario literale	n° 1	d	£ 3	s -	
Regule guarini	n° 1	d	£	s 8	
adi. 3. zugno					
Donato in carta bona	n° 1	d	£ 2	s -	
Summa orlandini	n° 1	d	£	s 18	
Valerio maximo con comento	n° 1	d	£ 2	s 10	
Vocabulista grecho grande	n° 1	d	£ 3	s -	
Polibio	n° 1	d	£ 3	s 10	
Erotimata grecha	n° 1	d	£	s 10	
					f. 2v
+ 1484. adi. 4. zugno.					
Officieto de piero veronese ligato	n° 1 venduto ⁴	d	£ 1	s -	
adi. 5 de zugno					
Breuiario de euangelista Retrato ducati 8 £ 3. ⁵	n° 1	d	£ 2	s 10	

¹ The transcription adheres as closely as possible to the original in all respects, with the expansion of the abbreviations, but without distinguishing the different hands. Small corrections and subsequent additions to the text are indicated in the footnotes. Where a whole entry has been cancelled, it appears as struck out.

² cancelled "Nico".

³ cancelled "Psali".

⁴ "venduto" added later.

⁵ We interpret the abbreviated capital 'R' as "Retrato" or *ritrato*, i.e. 'withdrawn' from the account.

Platina de honesta voluptate	n ^o 1	d	£	s 14
Regulle de abaco	n ^o 1	d	£	s 10
fatto saldo adi. 5. zugno				
Bartolo compito	n ^o 1	d 6	£ -	s -
Textus logice	n ^o 1	summa	£ -	s -
Alberto de celo et mundo	n ^o 2			
Metafisica s. tome	n ^o 1 ⁶			
Questiones Iohannis magistri	n ^o 3			
Questiones tusculane cum commento	n ^o 2			
Valerius maximus cum commento	n ^o 3			
Persio cum commento	n ^o 1	d	£	s 10
Cronica	n ^o 1	d	£ 3	s 10
Adi 9. de zugno				
Peregrinationes ierusalem	n ^o 1	d	£	s 10
Peregrinationes ierusalem	n ^o 2	d	£ 1	s -
Peregrinationes ierusalem	n ^o 3	d	£ 1	s 10
Sermones de sanctis fratribus leonardi	n ^o 1	d	£ 2	s 10
Almanacho ouero Tacuino	n ^o 1	d 1	£ -	s -
Decreto piccolo	n ^o 1	d 1	£ 1	s 6
Adi. 10. zugno				
Quarta de lantonina	n ^o 1	d	£ 4	s -
Valerio maximo con comento	n ^o 1	d	£ 2	s 12
Peregrinationes ierusalem	n ^o 2	d	£ 1	s -
⁷ Bibia de mastro francesco	n ^o 1	d	£ 5	s 10
Almanach	n ^o 1	d 1	£ -	s -
fatto saldo adi. detto				
Vita patrum literale	n ^o 1	summa	£ 3	s 4
Legende sanctorum literale	n ^o 4 ⁸			
Ptolomeo ligato	n ^o 1			
Morgante	n ^o 1			
Peregrinationes de ierusalem	n ^o 1	d	£	s 10
Bibia con nicolo de lira de mastro francesco ligata	n ^o 1	d 5	£ -	s -

⁶ corrected from 2.⁷ cancelled "Vna b".⁸ Uncertainty here as to whether the figure is a 1 or a 4. Most probably the latter.

adi. 11. detto				
Peregrinationes ierusalem	n° 1	d	£	s 10
adi. 12. zugno				
Dante con commento	n° 1	] summa	d 1	£ 5
Metafisica gabrielis	n° 1			
fatto saldo adi detto				s -
Epistole tullii cum	n° 1	d	£ 3	s -
commento				
Breuiarii de mastro	n° 3	d 2	£ 2	s 2
francesco				
Donati in carta bona	n° 2	d	£ 3	s 10
Psalmista piccolo	n° 1	d	£	s 12
Euangelii epistole	n° 1	] In summa con li seguenti venduti a misser Aluise capello		
volgare				
Fior de virtu	n° 1			
Fioretti de la bibia	n° 1			
Prediche de ruberto	n° 1			
volgare				
Profetie de merlino	n° 1			
Cinquanta nouelle	n° 1			
Fatige de ercules	n° 1			
Petrarcha con comento	n° 1			
Facetie de pogio	n° 1			
Fiametta	n° 1			
Canzone del Iustiniano	n° 1			
				f. 3r
1484. adi. 12. zugno				
Canzon de cosmico	n° 1	] In summa con li auanti scritti.	d 2	£ 1
Filomena	n° 1			
Filostratto	n° 1			
Burchiello	n° 1			
Ouidio de arte amandi	n° 1			
Peregrinationes	n° 1	d	£	s 10
ierusalem				
Peregrinationes ierusalem	n° 1	d	£	s 10
Formularium	n° 1	d	£ 2	s -
Instrumentorum				
fatto saldo				
Lamente de per la madona	n° 1	d	£	s 8
Elegantiole valle	n° 1	d	£	s 10
Platina de ho. vol.	n° 1	d	£	s 12
Albertus de sec. mu.	n° 1	d	£	s 10

adi. 16. zugno				
Formularium	n ^o 1	d	£ 2	s -
instrumentorum				
Psalmista grande	n ^o 1	d	£	s 16
Dinus de regulis iuris	n ^o 1	d	£ 1	s 10
Bibia de mastro francesco	n ^o 1	d	£ 4	s 4
Guidon	n ^o 1	d	£ 3	s -
Dante con commento	n^o 1	summa	d 1	£ 1
Summa astensis	n ^o 1			
m. antonius sabellicus	n ^o 1			
Supplementum cronicarum	n ^o 1			
Pratica Raynaldi de villa noua	n ^o 1	d	£ 2	s 10
adi. 18. zugno				
Mesue ligato	n ^o 1	d 1	£ 1	s 16
Comentum epistolarum tullii	n ^o 1	d	£ 2	s -
Scansiones peroti et omniboni	n ^o 2	d	£	s 14
adi. 21. detto				
Esopo istoriado	n ^o 1	d	£ 1	s -
Psalmista volgar con exposition	n ^o 1	d	£ 1	s 5
Consilium primi voluminis Alex.	n ^o 1	d	£ 5	s 10
Bibia con nicolo de lira	n^o 1	d 2	£ 5	s 10
adi. 22. detto				
Summa astesana	n ^o 1	d 1	£ -	s 16
Diurno donato a ser francesco gradenigo ⁹	n ^o 1	d	£	s
Officieto del bressano	n ^o 1	d	£	s 10
Arte de ben morire	n ^o 2	d	£	s 12
Platina de vitis pontificum ligato	n ^o 1	d	£ 5	s 10
Pisanella con suplemento	n ^o 2 ¹⁰	d	£ 5	s -
adi. 23. detto				
Donati da puti	n ^o 2	summa	d	£ 1
Psalterioli da puti	n ^o 2			
Regule de guarino	n ^o 1			

⁹ "donato...gradenigo" added later.

¹⁰ corrected from 1.

[illegible]

Illustration 14.7. *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis, f. 3r. Entries for 12–26 June 1484. [Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ital. XI, 45 (7439)]

adi. 25. detto				
Missaletti de mastro Nicolo	n° 1	d	£ 2	s -
adi. 26.				
Breuiario de piero veronese	n° 1	] summa	d	£ 3
Mamotretto	n° 1			
Epistole de tullio con	n° 1	]	d	£ 3
commento				
Mamotretto	n° 1	]	d	£ 1
Epistole tullii cum	n° 1			
commento				
Vite patrum vulgare	n° 1			
Regule guarini	n° 1			
per quali libri ho hauto £ 2 s		]	d	£ 2
10. contadi et lo				
resto mi debe dare tanti				
zenzeri verdi		]	d	£ 2
Sexto clementine grande	n° 1			
Breuiarii ligati de piero	n° 3		d 2	£ -
veronese				s -
Isidori ethimologiarum	n° 2	]	d	£
Cronica datti in baratto de	n° 1			
oglio				s
Arte de abacho	n° 1	] summa	d	£
Breuiario dottauiano	n° 1			
Diurno	n° 1			
Breuiario de euangelista	n° 1			
Meditation de la passion	n° 1		d	£
				s 8
				f. 3 ^v
+ 1484. adi. 28. zugno.				
Omelle de. s. gregorio	n° 1	] Summa	d 1	£ 4
Quintilian ligato	n° 1			
Valturio literale	n° 1			
Declamation	n° 1			
Platina de honesta vol.	n° 1			
Michel scotto	n° 1			
Bibia con nicolo de lira con.	n° 1		d 3	£ 4
2. adition				s 18
Tractatus de vrinis	n° 1		d	£
				s 16
				Saldato la cassa.
Adi. 30. zugno				
Officieto piccolo ligato	n° 1	]	d	£ 1
Mamotretto	n° 1			
Pratica raynaldi de	n° 1			
villano.				
Tractatus de peste et de	n° 1	]	d	£ 3
venenis				

Breuiario dottauiano ligato	n ^o 1	d	£ 5	s
Deche de liuio volgar del grisolar	n ^o 1	d 2	£ 2	s 12
Bibia volgar del grisolar	n ^o 1			
Algorismus	n ^o 1	d	£	s 10

*Index of the Entries and Titles Sold in June 1484*²⁵

Accursius, Bonus, *Compendium Elegantiarum Laurentii Vallae* (*Elegantiole valle*)

Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae linguae latinae*, a more advanced textbook of Latin grammar than Donatus, was first published in 1471 and went through numerous other editions in Italy and Europe by the end of the century. The form of the title and the price suggest, however, that this is not the original, but the reduced version of Bonus Accursius (d. c. 1478), first published in Milan in 1475. Closest to the *Zornale* is the edition published in Venice by Nicolaus Girardengus on 7 August 1481. Quarto: a–f⁸ g¹⁰, ff. 58 (HR 65; GW 174; IGI 41; ISTC ia00029000). While the title given by the ledger may be influenced by that of the grammar of Agostino Dati, in this edition, differently from the previous ones, the colophon includes the phrase “Ellegantiole Compendium Laurentij Vallensis”.

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 12 June for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 8.3 *denari*.

Addition, see Paulus de Sancta Maria

Aegidius Corboliensis, *De urinis* (*Tractatus de vrinis*)

The fuller entry of the stock in trade identifies this title as the Medieval medical poem by Gilles de Corbeil, accompanied by the commentary of Gentile da Foligno and edited by

²⁵ In the entries reference is made to the following standard repertories for the description of incunabula:

BMC = *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum* [British Library] (London, The Trustees of the British Museum [The British Library], 1908–2008).

C = Walter A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum or Collection towards a New Edition of that Work* (London, H. Sotheran and Co., 1895–1902).

GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann 1925–40 [vols. 1–8]; subsequently Stuttgart, 1973–2008 [vols. 8–11]. Reference is also made to the online resource on the site of the same).

H = Ludwig F.T. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur* (Stuttgartiae, J. G. Cotta, 1826–38).

IGI = *Indice generale incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia* (Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1943–81).

ISTC = *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, on-line resource available on the site of the British Library.

R = Reichling, *Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum Additiones et Emendationes*, Milano: Görlich, 1953.

Venantius Mutius, published at Padua by Matthaëus Cerdonis on 12 July 1483. Quarto: [a–g⁸ h⁶ i⁴], ff. 66 (HCR 100; BMC VII, 921; GW 269; IGI 56; ISTC ia00093000). Although the *incipit* has “Carmina de urinar(um) indiciis”, the *explicit* begins “Hic modus imponit(ur) Tractulo [sic!] de cogno[scendis] urinis”.

Four copies—described as the “Tractatus de vrinis magistri Egidii cum comento eiusdem”—are added to the stock in trade on 21 June. One copy is sold on 28 June for 16 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 11.6 *denari*.

Aesopus moralisatus (Esopo istoriado)

Among the numerous versions of Aesop's *Fabulae* deriving from the Middle Ages and staple fare from the early days of printing, pride of place goes to the illustrated editions. Unless the *Zornale* sold a lost Venetian imprint, the most likely edition is that published in Verona by Giovanni and Alberto Alvise on 26 June 1479, containing a total of 66 magnificent woodcut illustrations. Quarto: a–p⁸, ff. 120 (HCR *345; BMC VII, 949; GW 428; IGI 101; ISTC ia00148000).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 21 June for £ 1. Cost per sheet: 8 *denari*.

Alberto de celo et mundo, see Albertus de Saxonia

Albertus de sec. mu., see Albertus Magnus (pseudo-)

Albertus de Saxonia, *Quaestiones in Aristotelis libros de caelo et mundo (Alberto de celo et mundo)*

An important and influential Medieval university text on natural philosophy by the German professor and later rector of the universities of Paris and of Vienna (c. 1316–90). The entry in the *Zornale* refers to the *princeps* published in Pavia by Antonius de Carcano on 11 May 1481. Folio: [A–C]⁸ D–F⁸ G–M⁶ N⁸, ff. 92 (H 575; GW 795; IGI 250; ISTC ia00346000). Further editions were printed in Venice in 1492, 1497, and 1520, after which date it disappeared as a separate text, though it was sometimes included in collections of writings on Aristotle.

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, with another three added on 9 June. Two copies are sold on 5 June, part of a block purchase for 4 ducats; a calculation based on the price of the other books included in the sale suggests an individual price of £ 3 s 10. Cost per sheet: 18.3 *denari*.

Albertus Magnus (pseudo-), *Secreta mulierum et virorum (Albertus de sec. mu.)*

One of a number of Medieval texts attributed for reasons of prestige to the Dominican theologian and philosopher, Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), in this case dealing with gynaecology and the human reproductive organs. It was enormously successful in print, though most of the early editions are *sine notis* and attributed to various cities in Northern Europe. The reference in the *Zornale* is almost certainly to the edition attributed to Adam de Rottweil in Venice, the only one printed there in the Fifteenth century, dated 24 June 1478, containing also the commentary by Henricus de Saxonia. Quarto: [a–g]⁸, ff. 56 (H *563; BMC V, 249; GW 763; IGI 226; ISTC ia00319000).

Four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 12 June for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 8.6 *denari*.

Algorismus, see Beldomandis, Prosdocimus de

Almanach, see Regiomontanus, Johannes

Almanacho ouero Tacuino, see Regiomontanus, Johannes

Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa theologica*, part IV (*Quarta de lantonina*)

Structured in four parts, the most important summary of late Medieval Catholic theology by the Dominican Archbishop of Florence (d. 1459) has a peculiar publishing history, in which the second part was issued on its own in Venice in 1474 and reprinted twice in 1477. There were also separate editions of part I in Venice on 18 January 1487 (possibly 1488 *more Veneto*) and part III in 1485. A complete edition of all four parts was published in Nuremberg from 1477 to 1479, followed by that of Jenson in Venice from 1477 to 1480, with part III in two separate units, which might be that sold in the *Zornale* (HC 1243 and H 1259.4; BMC V, 177 [pt. III, 1-2], 179 [pt. I], 181 [pt. IV, pt. II]; GW 2185; IGI 690; ISTC ia00872000). More likely, however, is the edition published in Venice by Leonardus Wild in 1480–81, again with part III divided in two (HC 1244; C 514.2.4; BMC V, 266 [only pt. I]; GW 2187; IGI 691; ISTC ia00873000).

In the stock in trade the four parts of the Antoninus are each listed separately, with varying numbers of copies. Four are recorded for part IV, with another three added on 28 June. On 10 June a copy of part IV is sold for 4 *lire*. In the Jenson edition this part is dated 18 April 1480. Folio: a¹² b-h¹⁰ i-k⁸ l¹⁰ m⁸ n¹⁰ o-p⁸ q-x^{10/8} y-z¹⁰ &¹⁰ [cum]¹⁰ [rum]¹⁰ A-K¹⁰ L⁸ M-N¹⁰, ff. 374. In the Wild edition part IV, dated 1481, is not signed by the publisher. Folio: a-d¹⁰ e⁸ f¹⁰ g⁸ h¹⁰ i⁸ k¹⁰ l⁸ m-n¹⁰ o⁸ p¹⁰ q⁸ r¹⁰ s-t⁸ v¹⁰ x⁸ y-z¹⁰ A-C¹⁰ D⁸ E¹⁰ F⁸ G-P¹⁰, ff. 358. GW indicates that in this volume gatherings a-v were printed by Wild, while gatherings x through to P are the work of another printer, identified on the basis of the type as Raynaldus de Novimagio. It is known that Wild moved to Bologna in 1481 and the disparate nature of the printing is probably associated with this fact. Cost per sheet: Jenson 5.1 *denari*; Wild 5.4 *denari*.

Aristoteles, *Logica* (*Textus logice*)

The reference is to a textbook of logic and thus the most likely candidate is a collection of philosophical writings, which includes the *Logica* and *Organon* of Aristotle as principal author. Two editions were published in Venice, first by Philippus Petri on 25 October 1481. Folio: a-c¹⁰ d-k⁸ l⁶ m⁸ n⁶ o⁸ p¹⁰ P⁶ 2p⁴ q¹⁰(-q¹⁰; +χ^{1,2} q⁶) r¹⁰ s-t⁸ u-x⁶, ff. 180 (H *1665; C 606; GW 2391; IGI 843; ISTC ia01013000); and second by Baptista de Tortis on 27 January 1484. Folio: a⁸ b-n⁶ o⁴, ff. 84 (HC 1666; GW 2393; IGI 845; ISTC ia01014000). In the latter case, if the date is taken as *more Veneto*, i.e. 1485, it cannot have been sold in the *Zornale* in June 1484. A further argument in favour of the earlier edition appears in its colophon, which begins “Explicu(n)t textus logicales Aristotilis ...”.

One copy recorded in the initial stock in trade, with another added on 9 June. One copy is sold as part of a block purchase on 5 June. On 7 February 1485 a copy sells for £ 1 s 5, but by this date the reference may well be to the 1484 edition. Cost per sheet: for 1481, 3.3 *denari*; for 1484, 7.1 *denari*.

Arnoldus de Villa Nova, *Breviarium practicae medicinae* (*Pratica Raynaldi de villa noua; Pratica raynaldi de villano*)

The authenticity of the attribution of this short treatise to the famous Medieval alchemist and physician is doubtful, but his name was blazoned on the four Fifteenth-century editions. The most likely candidate is the edition published in Milan by Christophorus Valdarfer on 26 April 1483. Folio: a-h⁸ i-k⁶ l⁸ m⁶ n-t⁸, ff. 146 (H 1800; IGI 865; GW 2526; ISTC ia01071000), though another possibility is the edition *sine notis* attributed to Antonius de

Carcano in Pavia, c. 1485. Folio: a-f⁸ g¹⁰ (-g6) h-m⁸ n⁶, ff. 103 (C 647; IGI 866; GW 2527; ISTC ia01072000). One small point in favour of this last hypothesis is that, while the Milan 1483 *incipit* reads “Breuiarium prattice excellentissimi Arnaldi (de) uillanoua medici ...”, that attributed to Pavia inscribes the presumed author’s name as “Reinaldi”.

A total of four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 16 June for £ 2 s 10 and, together with another book, on 30 June. Cost per sheet: if Milan: 8.2 *denari*; if Pavia: 11.7 *denari*.

Ars moriendi, in Italian (*Arte de ben morire*)

Written around the date of the battle of Agincourt by an anonymous Dominican friar, albeit attributed to several well-known authors of the time, such as Matthaues de Cracovia and Albertus Magnus, the longer version in six chapters of this treatise on how to prepare for a good death was enormously popular both in manuscript and with early printers. The Italian text, which preceded the first Latin editions and again for reasons of prestige is attributed to Domenico Capranica, cardinal of Fermo, first appeared in an edition *sine notis* attributed to Azoguidus in Bologna c. 1471–75, while it is plausible that other early editions may have been lost. The edition recorded in the ledger is probably that published in Venice in 1478. While the parallel Latin edition is fully signed by printers Erhard Ratdolt, Bernhard Maler and Peter Löslein (ISTC ia01093000), the Italian version, though indubitably from the same shop, gives only the place and the year. Quarto: a-c⁸, ff. 24, title on f. a1r printed in red, woodcut frame on f. a1r (C 676; CR I, 4398; BMC V, 245; GW 2620; IGI 888; ISTC ia0103000).

Three copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. Two copies are sold on 22 June for a total of 12 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 12 *denari*.

Arte de abacho, see *Arte dell'abbaco*

Arte de ben morire, see *Ars moriendi*

Arte dell'abbaco (*Arte de abacho*)

Known also as the Treviso Arithmetic, this treatise on commercial arithmetic by an anonymous schoolteacher from the Venice area was published in a single edition at Treviso on 10 December 1478. The printing is variously attributed to Michael Manzolus or to Gerardus de Lisa. Quarto: [a-f⁸ g⁶ h⁸], ff. 62 (HCR 1863; GW 2674; IGI 906; ISTC ia0114000). The title employed by the bookseller repeats the *incipit*, which describes the book as “vna practica molto bona et vtile: | a ciaschaduno chi vuole vxare larte dela mercha | dantia. chiamata vulgarmente larte de labbacho”. The *Zornale* also sells an unidentified *Regule de abaco*, see below.

One copy recorded in the initial stock in trade, sold on 26 June for 15 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 11.6 *denari*.

Astesanus de Ast, *Summa de casibus conscientiae* (*Summa astensis*, *Summa astesana*)

First published in Strasburg in 1469, this important Medieval manual for confessors, known as the *Summa astesana*, went through a further ten editions up to 1482, since when it has not been reprinted. Only two editions were produced in Italy, both in Venice: that by Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen on 18 March 1478. Folio: $\pi^2(\pi_1 + a^{10}) b \cdot f^{10} g \cdot h^8 x_2 h^8 i \cdot n^{10} o^8 p \cdot t^{10} v \cdot y^8 2a \cdot 2c^{10} 2d^8 2e \cdot 2p^{10} 2r^{10} x_2 r^8 x_8^8 2s \cdot 2x^{10} A \cdot M^{10} Y \cdot Z^{10} \&^{10}$ [cum]¹⁰, ff. 590 (HC *1893; BMC V, 233; GW 2754; IGI 925; ISTC ia01165000); and that by Leonardus Wild for Nicolaus de Frankfordia on 28 April 1480. Folio: a-g¹⁰ G¹² h-x¹⁰ y¹² 2a-2x¹⁰ 2y¹² 1-g¹⁰ 10⁸,

ff. 554 (HC *1896; BMC V, 265; GW 2757; IGI 926; ISTC ia01169000). The sale in the ledger could belong to either.

A total of three copies recorded in the initial stock in trade; another bound copy appears among the "libri ligati". One copy is sold on 16 June and another on 22 June, both for 1 ducat, 16 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: if 1478, 5.7 *denari*, if 1480, 6.1 *denari*.

Aulo gelio, see Gellius, Aulus

Balbus, Johannes, *Catholicon* (*Catolicon*)

A universal Medieval Latin dictionary composed by the Dominican grammarian and theologian Balbi (d. 1298), first printed, probably in Mainz, in the controversial impression dated "1460", and followed in Germany and France by numerous editions. In Italy in the Fifteenth century six editions were published, all of them in Venice, and the ledger necessarily refers to the earliest, signed by Hermannus Liechtenstein on 24 September 1483. Folio: a¹⁰ b-z⁸ &⁶ [cum]⁶ A-T⁸ U⁶, ff. 356 (HC *2257; BMC V, 356; GW 3188; IGI 1159; ISTC: ib00026000). Within the arc of time covered by the *Zornale*, a second Venetian edition appeared on 25 November 1487.

Four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 1 June for £ 6. Cost per sheet: 8.1 *denari*.

Bartolo compito, see Bartolus de Saxoferrato

Bartolus de Saxoferrato (*Bartolo compito*)

In his short lifetime Bartolo de Saxoferrato (1314–57) wrote commentaries on all the texts of civil law, with exception of the *Institutiones*, and our assumption is that the entry in the ledger refers to a complete set of the same, without including other texts by or attributed to the same author available at the time, such as the *Super authenticis* and his *Consilia*. In 1484, however, no such set signed by a single printer at the same time under a single collective title existed and so what is sold here is a composite. Since in 1486 and in 1487 the ledger records the sales, at the price of 4 ducats, of complete sets of Bartolo from Milan, where the reference must be to the series of volumes produced by Pachel and Scinzenzeler between 24 November 1483 and 1 February 1485, the inference here is that this is a Venetian set, albeit at a distinctly higher price. There are several possibilities. First, that published by Vindelinus de Spira between 1471 and 1473, albeit lacking the commentary on the last three books of the *Codex*, the first part of the *Digestum vetus* and the second part of the *Infortiatum*; second, the 'double' set produced by Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen between 1475 and 1480, although with only one printing of some parts; and finally the full set, though again complicated by the multiple printing of three parts, where the lengthier version is probably the earlier, issued by Jenson in 1477–78.

While it is perfectly plausible that the entry here refers to a mix of volumes by different publishers, for our purposes we assume that it is the Jenson set in its first printing, all in folio format on sheets of royal paper, with a total of 9 parts and 1770 leaves, as follows: *Super prima parte Codicis*, 25 April 1478, a¹⁰ b-k⁸ l⁶ m-u⁸, ff. 160 (H *2543.1; BMC V, 179; GW 3491; IGI 1290; ISTC ib00192000); *Super secunda parte Codicis*, 7 May 1478, A¹⁰ B-Q⁸ R¹⁰, ff. 140 (H *2543.2; BMC V, 179; GW 3509; IGI 1302; ISTC ib00200000); *Super tribus ultimis libris Codicis*, 1477, a-b¹⁰ c-i⁸ k¹⁰, ff. 86 (HC *2558; BMC V, 177; GW 3525; IGI 1311; ISTC ib00205000); *Super prima parte Digesti novi*, 1478, a-y⁸ z¹⁰, ff. 186 (GW 3549; IGI 1326; ISTC ib00216000); *Super secunda parte Digesti novi*, with only the date 1478, a¹⁰ b⁸ c⁶ d-g⁸ h-i¹⁰ k⁶ l¹⁰ 2q⁸ m-n¹⁰ o⁶ p⁸ q-r⁶ 2a¹⁰ 2b-2c⁸ 2e-2f¹⁰ 2g⁸ 2h¹⁰ 2i⁸ 2k⁴ 2l-2o¹⁰ 2p⁸ 2Q⁶ 2R¹⁰ 2S¹² 2T⁶ 2U⁸ 2X⁴ 2Y¹⁰, ff. 334

(GW 3566; IGI 1336; ISTC ib00220800); *Super prima parte Digesti veteris*, 10 March 1478, a¹⁰ b-c⁸ d¹⁰ e-z⁸ A-D⁸ E⁶ F-G⁸, ff. 242 (H *2570,1; GW 3605; IGI 1346; ISTC ib00229000); *Super secunda parte Digesti veteris*, 1477, a¹⁰ b-u⁸, ff. 162 (H *2570,2; GW 3605; IGI 1346; ISTC ib00229000); *Super prima parte Infortiati*, 28 March 1478, a¹⁰ b-z⁸ A-C⁸ D-E⁶, ff. 222 (H *2590,1; GW 3616; IGI 1370; ISTC ib00233000); and *Super secunda parte Infortiati*, 1478, a¹⁰ b-c⁸ D⁸ e-z⁸ A-C⁸ d⁸ E-F⁶ G⁸, ff. 238 (H *2590,2; GW 3631; IGI 1381; ISTC ib00238000).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade; another copy added on 9 June. One copy is sold on 5 June for 6 ducats. Cost per sheet: 10.1 *denari*.

Bassi, Pietro Andrea de, *Le fatiche d'Ercole (Fatigue de ercules)*

Both a commentary on Boccaccio's *Teseida* and an exaltation of the Este regime, this Fifteenth-century work has only ever been published once: in Ferrara by Augustinus Carnerius on 4 July 1475. Folio: [a-b¹⁰ c⁸ d-e¹⁰ f-g⁸ h²], ff. 66 (HC 2706; GW 3721; BMC VI, 606; IGI 1419; ISTC ib00280000).

A total of two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells on only one other occasion, in 1484, for £ 1. Cost per sheet: 7.3 *denari*.

Beldomandis, Prosdocimus de, *Algorithmus (Algorismus)*

Several handbooks on the method of calculation employing Arabic numerals were popular in the Middle ages and made their way into print. The earliest known to appear in Italy is an edition *sine notis* of a vernacular text, formerly attributed to Venice, but, following the recent discovery of an archive document, reassigned to Ugo Rugerius in Reggio Emilia in the summer of 1478. The particular form of the title listed in the *Zornale* suggests however that the work is instead that by the late Medieval musician and mathematician, also professor at the University of Padua, Beldomandis (1370/80-1428), published in the same city in a single edition attributed to Matthaueus Cerdonis and dated 22 February 1483. Quarto: a-b⁸ c-d⁶, ff. 28 (HCR 2753; GW 3799; IGI 1442; BMC VII, 920; ISTC ib00299000). The term 'algorismus' is employed both in the *incipit*: f. ar "Prosdocimi de Beldamandis algo[rismi tractatus perutilis et necessarius | foeliciter incipit"; and in the colophon: f. d5v "Algorismus Prosdocimi de Beldamandis | una cum minuciis".

Seven copies are added to the stock in trade on 21 June. One copy is sold on 30 June for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 17.1 *denari*.

Bibia con nicolo de lira, see *Biblia latina*, with the glosses of Nicolaus de Lyra

Bibia con nicolo de lira de mastro francesco, see *Biblia latina*, with the glosses of Nicolaus de Lyra, published by Franciscus Renner

Bibia de mastro francesco, see *Biblia latina*, published by Franciscus Renner

Bibia vulgar del grisolar, see *Biblia*, in Italian

Biblia latina, published by Franciscus Renner (*Bibia de mastro francesco*)

Franciscus Renner, who italianised his name as Fontana, may have been linked to de Madiis by marriage and certainly was a major supplier of the bookshop. Beginning in 1475 and initially in partnership with Nicolaus de Frankfordia, he published five editions of the Bible, all of them previous to the *Zornale*. Since in June 1484 the ledger distinguishes the text with the commentary of Nicolaus de Lyra (see below) and elsewhere refers to a "Bibia piccola de mastro Francesco", which is presumably the 1483 quarto edition (ISTC

ib00578000), the reference here must be to the 1480 edition. Folio and quarto: a-h¹⁰ i-l¹² m-s¹⁰ t-v¹² x-y¹⁰ 1-6¹⁰ 7-10¹² 11-13¹⁰ 14¹² 15-17¹⁰ 18¹² A-D¹², ff. 470 (HC *3078; BMC V 195; IGI 1661; GW 4241; ISTC ib00566000). The edition is a gallimaufry of different sheet sizes, which also explains the difficulties encountered by past repertories in describing the format. The mixture varies from copy to copy, but a “standard make-up” comprises 128 Half-median sheets in folio format; 66 half sheets of Median (or the equivalent of 33 full sheets); and 41 sheets of ordinary Chancery in folio format. Stray full Median sheets printed as folio also appear in isolated copies. For convenience's sake we calculate the full Median sheets, divided before printing, as the equivalent of Half-median sheets, and base the cost-per-sheet calculation on 235 sheets.

Four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. Copies are sold on 2 June for £ 4, on 10 June for £ 5 s 10, and on 16 June for £ 4 s 4. Cost per sheet: 4.1, 4.3, or 5.6 *denari*.

Biblia latina, with the glosses of Nicolaus de Lyra, together with the *Additiones* by Paulus de Sancta Maria and the *Replicationes* by Mathias Doering (*Bibia con nicolo de lira*)

Modestly passed off as ‘glosses’, the *Postillae super totam Bibiam* of the Medieval Franciscan doctor and teacher at the Sorbonne (c. 1270–1349) were first published in Rome in 1471–72. It was followed by many, often partial, editions. The first edition with the biblical text embedded in the commentary is that signed by Johannes de Colonia, Nicolaus Jenson, and colleagues, otherwise known as the Company, on 31 July 1481, where the repertories identify the printer as Johannes Herbort. Since the *Zornale* distinguishes the subsequent 1482 edition by Franciscus Renner (see below), it is reasonable to assume that the Company edition is the one sold here. Folio: a¹⁰ b¹² c-h¹⁰ i-k⁸ l-p¹⁰ q¹² r-v¹⁰ u¹⁰ x-z¹⁰ &¹⁰ [cum]¹⁰ [rum]¹⁰ [ter]¹² A-B¹⁰ C⁴ D-N¹⁰ O¹² P¹⁰(P2+χ1) Q-S¹⁰ T⁶ U-Z¹⁰ aA¹⁰ bB⁸ cC¹⁰ dD⁸ eE-gG¹⁰ aa-oo¹⁰ pp-qq⁸ rr-vv¹⁰ uu¹⁰ xx-zz¹⁰ 2&¹⁰ 2[cum]¹⁰ 2[rum]⁸ AA-GG¹⁰ HH¹² II-MM¹⁰ NN¹² OO⁸ PP-XX¹⁰ YY-ZZ⁸ AAA-BBB⁸ CCC¹² DDD-EEE¹⁰ FFF-HHH⁸ III¹⁰ Aa-Pp¹⁰ Qq⁸ Rr-Uv¹⁰ Xx⁸ Yy⁶ Zz-Ccc¹⁰ Ddd¹² Eee¹⁰ Fff⁸ 1-4¹⁰ 5¹² 6-12¹⁰ 13-14⁸ χ⁶ 2χ⁴, ff. 1571, publisher's mark at f. 14/r printed in red (HC *3164; BMC V, 301; GW 4286; IGI 1683; ISTC ib00610000).

A total of seven copies of the Bible “con nicolo de lira” recorded in the initial stock in trade, together with a bound copy; another bound copy is specifically recorded as “con nicolo de lira de la compagnia”. A sale of one copy for d 2 £ 5 s 10 on 21 June is cancelled. Cost per sheet: 5.5 *denari*.

Biblia latina, with the glosses of Nicolaus de Lyra, published by Franciscus Renner (*Bibia con nicolao de lira de mastro francesco; Bibia con nicolo de lira con .2. adition*)

Here the book sold can only be the huge edition published by Renner in 1482. Folio: a-c⁸ d-f¹⁰ g⁸ h¹²(-h8) i-k¹⁰ l⁸ m-y¹⁰ 2a-2l¹⁰ 2m⁸ 2n-2x¹⁰ 2y¹² A-l¹⁰ K⁸ 1-8¹⁰ 9-10⁸ 11-30¹⁰ 31⁸ 32-33¹⁰ 34¹² 35¹⁰ 36-37¹² 38-49¹⁰ 50-51⁸ 52-60¹⁰ 61⁸ 62-65¹⁰ 66⁸ 67-69¹⁰, ff. 1211 (HC *3165; BMC V, 197; GW 4287; IGI 1685; ISTC 00612000). Whereas the Jenson Bible integrates the *Additiones* by Paulus de Sancta Maria, together with the *Replicationes* by Mathias Doering, into the glosses (see above), Renner printed them separately in 1483, although, with exception of BMC V, 198, bibliographical repertories consider this text an integral part of his Bible. The *Zornale*, however, treats them as a separate work and we have followed its example (see below: Paulus de Sancta Maria).

Four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. A bound copy is sold on 10 June for 5 ducats, while a further copy, albeit not specified as printed by Renner, but including “2.

addition", is sold on 28 June for d 3 £ 4 s 18. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it is sold for d 2 £ 5 s 10. Cost per sheet: 7.1 *denari*.

Biblia, in Italian (*Bibia volgar del grisolar*)

Beginning in 1471, eleven editions of the Bible in the Italian translation by Niccolò Malermi were published in the Fifteenth century, all in Venice. Six of these appeared before or in 1484, but the reference to someone called "grisolar" poses an intriguing dilemma, since according to the repertories there was no printer or publisher with this name active at the time. The same person is also indicated as the supplier of the *Livy* in Italian, which forms the other half of this two-book sale. The most convincing identification is with a little-known Venetian humanist, Jacobus Grasolarius,²⁶ who evidently had a larger stake in the publishing industry than has hitherto been realised. With such substantial titles it is impossible, however, that the editions concerned are lost and they have to be sought under the name of another printer. If we assume that the two editions were signed by or are attributed to the same shop, rather frustratingly for our purposes, two figures issued both a Bible in Italian and a translation of *Livy* previous to 1484. The first was the printer who in a brief period from 1476 to 1478 signs his Venetian editions as Antonio di Bartolomeo from Bologna, identified by bibliographers as Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscomini, who subsequently, after a brief interlude at Nonantola in 1480, set up a shop in Florence in 1481 and used very similar types. His Venice Bible is dated 1477. Folio: part 1: π^{10} 2a-2b¹⁰ 2c-2z⁸ 2A-2F⁸ 2G⁶ 2H⁴, ff. 256; part 2: π^8 a¹² b-o¹⁰ p-z⁸ A-C⁸ D⁶, ff. 252 (HC 3151; BMC V, 241; GW 4312; IGI 1699; ISTC iboo640500); the second was the publisher Octavianus Scotus in 1481. Folio: a¹² b-z¹⁰ & ¹⁰ [cum]¹⁰ [rum]¹⁰ A-T⁸ V⁶ X¹², ff. 430 (HC *3153; BMC V, 276; GW 4314; IGI 1701; ISTC iboo642000). Since the initial stock in trade distinguishes two copies of the "Bibia

²⁶ Presumably born c. 1460, he is known to have studied with Georgius Merula, who taught in Venice from 1464 to 1482; subsequently he is recorded as graduating in theology and law at the University of Padua, after which he was priest in the parish of Sant'Apollinare in Venice, canon of Saint Mark's in 1508, and arch-priest of the Congregation of Santa Maria Formosa in 1514. He is also known to have exercised as a notary from 1495 and to have acted as chancellor to doge Andrea Gritti in 1530. He died in 1534. No modern studies of his figure are known and the information here is taken from Giovanni Degli Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita, e le opere degli scrittori viniziani*, Venezia, presso Simone Occhi, 1752–54, vol. II, pp. 589–94. In terms of his relationship with the publishing industry, he appears as an editor of Aegidius Columna and of the *Declamationes* circulating under the name of Quintilian (see below) in publications of Lucas Dominici in 1481–82. In the second edition of the Quintilian, a phrase in his preface suggests a personal financial involvement in the publication: "Id cum nostra cura et diligentia imprimendum esset ... At nostri memores quando Fabii Declamationes nostra opera nostrisque impensis uelut a situ squaloreque reuocauimus". He is also the recipient of a dedicatory letter by the editor of Cyprian, Cristoforo Priuli, in an edition again printed by Lucas Dominici. Subsequent sales in the *Zornale*, albeit always associated with the same two titles, explicitly identify him as the printer (18 February 1485: "Bibia stampa del Grisolaro"; 24 September 1484: "Deche de liuo piccolo vulgar stampa del Grisolaro"). The identification of "Grisolaro" with Grasolarius is proposed by Rosanna Saccardo in her thesis on the *Zornale* (p. LXXVI), of which the substance is repeated in Edoardo Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento. Storia e bibliografica ragionata delle edizioni in lingua italiana dal 1471 al 1600* (Milano: Editrice bibliografica, 1992), pp. 157–160.

dottauiano" with respect to three copies of the "Bibbia del grisolaro", the weight of the evidence favours the so-called Miscomini edition.

The editions of Livy appeared respectively in 1478 and 1481 (see below).

One copy is sold on 30 June, together with a copy of Livy in Italian, for d 2 £ 2 s 12. Elsewhere the Livy sells for d 1 £ 1 s 6, so, unless there is a discount for the double purchase, the cost of the Bible is d 1 £ - s 6. Cost per sheet, if 1477, 12.4 *denari*; if 1481, 7.3 *denari*.

Blanchellus, Menghus, *Super logicam Pauli Veneti expositio et quaestiones* (Mengo)

This successful commentary to the treatise of logic of Paulus Venetus, by Domenicus Blanchellus, a physician and philosopher from Faenza (c. 1440- after 1520), who taught at the universities of Ferrara and of Pisa, after a *princeps* in Treviso in 1476, went through another six editions by the end of the century. Closest to the *Zornale* is the edition published in Venice by Antonius de Strata on 27 August 1483. Quarto: a-t⁸ u⁶, ff. 158 (HR 3228; GW 4406; IGI 1751; ISTC iboo693000).

Four copies are recorded in the initial stock in trade, creating a discrepancy with the seven copies sold on 1 June 1484 for d 1 £ 1 s -, or a little over £ 1 each, a price confirmed in subsequent sales. Cost per sheet: 6.3 *denari*.

Blondus Flavius, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades* (Deche de biondo)

This work of the humanist and apostolic secretary (d. 1463) contributed to the flourishing of humanist historiography between the end of the Fifteenth century and the beginning of the following century. The *Decades* cover the history of Italy and Europe from 412 to 1441. The only edition available at the beginning of June 1484 was the *princeps* published in Venice by Octavianus Scotus on 16 July 1483. Folio: a-l⁸ m-z¹⁰ A-C¹⁰ D-E⁸ F-M¹⁰ N-S⁸, ff. 372 (HC *3248; BMC V, 277; GW 4419; IGI 1756; ISTC iboo698000). A second edition by Thomas de Blavis appeared in Venice on 28 June 1484.

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is sold on 1 June for £ 4 s 10. Cost per sheet: 5.8 *denari*.

Boccaccio, Giovanni, *La Fiammetta* (Fiammetta)

This famous Medieval prose elegy to unhappy love, like all Boccaccio's writings, found favour with early printers and was first issued in Padua by Bartholomaeus de Valdezoccho and Martinus de Septem Arboribus on 21 March 1472. The first Venetian edition and most probably that sold here was published by Filippo di Pietro in 1481. Quarto: a-f⁸ g¹² h⁶, ff. 66 (HC 3293; BMC V, 223; GW 4459; IGI 1782; ISTC iboo736000).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 14 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 10.2 *denari*.

Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Il Filostrato* (Filostratto)

Unless there is a lost edition, the only candidate is the *princeps* of Boccaccio's youthful poem on the love story between Troilus and Cressida, published in Venice by Lucas Dominici in c. 1481. Quarto: a-g⁸ h-p⁴ r⁶, ff. 98 (HR 3309; GW 4472; IGI 1792; ISTC iboo748000).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 15 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 7.3 *denari*.

Bonaventura, see Caulibus, Johannes de

Bonifacius VIII, *Liber sextus decretalium* (*Sexto clementine grande*)

Part VI of the Medieval *Corpus iuris canonici*, first printed in Mainz in 1465, it was followed by numerous other editions. The entries in the *Zornale* show that it was sold together with Part VII (see Clemens V), and also that the shop stocked two separate editions, distinguished by size. The distinction necessarily rests on the format, wherein *grande* refers to folio, which remained the dominant measure up to the end of the century. Closest is the edition published in Venice by Andreas Torresanus and Bartholomaeus de Blavis on 30 September 1483. Folio: a¹² b-d⁸ e-h⁶ k-p⁸ q⁶ r⁸, ff. 122, printed in red and black (HC 3606; BMC V, 306; GW 4873; IGI 1974; ISTD ib00997000). For the quarto format, see the following entry.

The initial stock in trade records two copies as “grande”, while a bound copy, described as “grande”, also appears in the list of “libri ligati”. A copy defined as “grande” is sold, together with the *Clementinae*, on 26 June for d 1 £ 1. Cost per sheet, together with the *Clementinae*: 18.4 *denari*.

Bonifacius VIII, *Liber sextus decretalium* (*Sexto e clementine piccolo*)

As is shown in the previous entry, the shop stocked two different editions distinguished on the basis of format. The term “piccolo” necessarily refers to the quarto format first introduced for this text in Paris in 1481, followed in Venice by the edition published by Andreas Torresanus, Bartholomaeus de Blavis, and Mapheus de Paterbonis on 26 September 1482. Quarto: A-B⁸ cC⁸ D-R⁸ S¹⁰, ff. 146, printed in red and black (H 3604; GW 4871; IGI 1972; ISTD ib00995000). This is almost certainly the edition sold in the *Zornale*, unless we take the date on the edition published by Bernardinus Benalius on 27 January 1484 as *not* being *more Veneto*. Quarto: A-R⁸ S¹⁰, ff. 146, printed in red and black (HC 3608 and H 3609; BMC V, 371; GW 4875; IGI 1973; ISTD ib00998000). This latter edition is however clearly distinguished when it first appears in the *Zornale* on 23 June 1485 as “Sexto Clementine picholi de Bernardino”.

One copy recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold, together with the *Clementinae*, as part of a block purchase on 1 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 2 or £ 3. Cost per sheet, together with the *Clementinae* of 1483: 8.6 or 12.9 *denari*.

Bracciolini, Poggio, see Poggii Florentinus

Breuiarii de mastro francesco, see *Breviarium Romanum*, published by Franciscus Renner

Breuiario de euangelista, see *Breviarium Romanum*, published by Evangelista de San Severino

Breuiario de piero veronese, see *Breviarium Romanum*, published by Petrus de Plasiis

Breuiario dottauiano, see *Breviarium Romanum*, published by Octavianus Scotus

Breviarium Romanum, published by Evangelista de San Severino (*Breuiario de euangelista*)

Only a single edition bearing the name of Evangelista, who in the colophon declares himself a pupil of Nicholas Jenson and Gregorius Dalmatinus, is known today, consisting in a breviary, for Franciscan use, published in Venice on 1 February 1482, possibly *more Veneto*, so 1483. Octavo: π⁸ A-F⁸ G¹⁰ a-q⁸ r¹⁰ 2a-2n⁸ x-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [rum]⁸ v⁸, ff. 364 leaves, printed in red and black (HR 3906; GW 5134; IGI 2123; ISTD: ib01122000). Since it survives in only three copies, of which two on parchment, it is nevertheless possible that Evangelista published other editions that have been entirely lost.

Ten copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is sold on 5 June for £ 2 s 10. Cost per sheet: 13.2 *denari*.

Breviarium Romanum, published by Petrus de Plasiis (*Breuiario de piero veronese*)

By the time of the *Zornale* Venetian printing of liturgical texts had begun to achieve such a high level that editions were being produced for use not only in Italy, but also in other countries, such as that destined for Bourges in France in 1481. As a publisher Petrus de Plasiis seems to have allied himself regularly with Bartholomaeus de Blavis and Andreas Torresanus in producing breviaries primarily for the Franciscans, but also for the Carmelites. The difficulties in recognising the impressions concerned are increased by the low survival rates and by the fact that the few extant copies are mostly printed on vellum, so that it is likely that other editions have been lost. Rather than insisting on a precise identification, it seems better merely to describe examples of the genre, such as the two editions for Franciscan use signed by Plasiis, in the first case with Blavis and in the second with Blavis and Torresanus in 1479. The first is dated 18 April. Octavo: π^8 2A-2E¹² 2F⁸ A-O¹² P⁸ a-i¹² k-m⁸ 2a-2c¹², ff. 420, printed in red and black (HR 3900; C 1296; BMC V, 268; GW 5130; IGI 2117; ISTC ib0119000), and is known today in four copies, three of them in parchment; the second is dated 12 October. Octavo: π^8 2A-2D¹² 2E⁸ A-L¹² M-N⁸ a-g¹² h⁸ i¹² k-l⁸ 2a-2b¹² 2c⁸, ff. 364, printed in red and black (GW 5132; ISTC ib0119450), surviving in three paper copies. A further edition signed by Plasiis in 1485 survives in a single extant copy.

Ten copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, with a separate entry for a bound copy. Another two bound copies are added on 21 June. On 3 June three bound copies are sold for 2 ducats. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* Plasiis' breviaries sell for £ 2, so binding more than doubles the price. Cost per sheet: if May 1479, 9.1 *denari*; if October 1479, 10.6 *denari*.

Breviarium Romanum, published by Franciscus Renner (*Breuiarii de mastro francesco*)

Beginning in 1477, Renner published a series of breviaries in different formats for a variety of religious orders or regional churches, while it is extremely likely that other editions have been lost. Since in an entry made on 27 November 1484, the *Zornale* distinguishes a Breviary printed by Renner for the Dominican order, the presumption here is that the reference is to one for Franciscan usage, of which the closest belongs to 1481. Quarto & octavo: π^6 2 π^4 a-d¹² e¹⁶ f-i¹² k-l¹⁶ m-v¹² x¹⁴ y¹² 1-8¹² 9¹⁴ 10-13¹² 14⁸ 15-16¹² 17⁸ A¹⁶ B¹² C¹⁶ D⁴ E-F⁸ G¹⁰, ff. 572, printed in red and black (HC 3902; BMC V, 196; GW 5136; IGI 2121; ISTC ib0119700). In the circumstances however any identification with a particular edition is fraught with uncertainty.

A total of nine copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. Three copies are sold on 12 June for d 2 £ 2 s 2, or £ 4 s 17 each. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* a breviary published by Renner sold, alone, for £ 5. Therefore for the block sale a discount was applied. Cost per sheet: if the half-sheets of octavo are counted as quarto, 8.1 *denari*.

Breviarium Romanum, published by Octavianus Scotus (*Breuiario dottauiano*)

Scotus is known to have published breviaries in at least two different formats. His large folio edition in 1482, albeit close to the *Zornale* in chronological terms, is unlikely for reasons of price, since the 410 leaves printed in red and black would cost only 3.5 *denari* a sheet (ISTC ib0112750). The choice therefore falls on the several editions in octavo format, all of them surviving however in few, often imperfect, copies. It is almost certain therefore that others, including probably the one sold here, have been lost and so the

description we furnish of the only extant example, that for Franciscan use published on 2 October 1479, has to be taken as merely indicative. Octavo: π^8 2A-2E¹² A-M¹² N⁸ a-i¹² k⁸ 2a-2b¹² 2c⁸ 3a-3b⁸, ff. 386, printed in red and black (GW 5131; IGI 2118; ISTC ibo1119400). The only surviving copy is imperfect, so the reconstruction of the collational formula is partly hypothetical.

A total of six copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, with a single bound copy recorded in a separate entry. A copy is sold, together with a diurnal, on 26 June for £ 4. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* a diurnal for Benedictine use is sold for £ 1, so the value of the Scotus breviary, unbound, works out at £ 3. Cost per sheet: 14.9 *denari*.

Burchiello, Domenico di Giovanni, called il, *Sonetti* (*Burchiello*)

Enormously popular at the time for their paradoxical, nonsensical language, this Fifteenth-century collection of caudate sonnets first appeared in an edition signed by Christophorus Arnoldus in Venice, c. 1472, and went through at least another 10 editions by the end of the century. Previous places of publication also include Bologna, Florence, and Rome, but the edition recorded here is most likely that published in Venice by Antonius de Strata, 8 February 1483, probably *more Veneto*, so 1484. Quarto: a¹⁰ b-g⁸ h⁶, ff. 64 (HR 4099; GW 5743; IGI 2238; ISTC ibo1289000).

Seven copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 7.5 *denari*.

Canzone del Iustiniano, see Justiniano, Leonardo

Canzon de cosmico, see Cosmico, Niccolò Lelio

Caracciolus, Robertus, *Sermones quadragesimales*, in Italian (*Prediche de ruberto vulgare*)

Vernacular version of a hugely successful collection of sermons by the Fifteenth-century Franciscan, first printed in 1475, with another 22 known editions by the end of the century. Four editions printed previous to 1484 are Venetian, with another four in Treviso, of which the two closest in the time-scale are those published in Venice by Thomas de Blavis, 31 October 1482. Folio: a-k^{8/6} l⁸, ff. 78 (H 4451; IGI 2492; GW 6097; ISTC ic00155250), and 13 August 1483. Folio: a-l⁶, ff. 66 (HC 4453; IGI 2494; GW 6099; ISTC ic00155350).

Four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 1. Cost per sheet: if 1482, 6.2 *denari*; if 1483, 7.3 *denari*.

Catolicon, see Balbus, Johannes

Caulibus, Johannes de (pseudo-Bonaventura), *Meditationes vitae Christi*, in Italian (*Meditation de la passion*)

This work, written by the Fourteenth-century Franciscan Giovanni de' Cauli from San Gimignano, circulated widely under the more prestigious name of Saint Bonaventure and enjoyed an enormous success in the early printing shops of all Europe, with numerous translations into other languages. The earliest edition of the Latin text appeared in Augsburg in 1468, while the first Italian version is attributed to Jenson in Venice in c. 1478. The edition recorded in the *Zornale* is most likely that published in Venice by Petrus Maufer and Nicolaus de Contugo on 10 March 1483. Quarto: a-f⁸ g⁴, ff. 52, printed in red and

black (CR 1185; IGI 1908; GW 4789; ISTC ib00918000). The title given in the ledger reflects that found in the *explicit* of the edition: “Finischono le piissime et deuotissime meditation(n)e | de tutta la passione del nostro Saluatore iesu christo”.

Ten copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is sold on 26 June for 8 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 7.4 *denari*.

Chrysoloras, Emanuel, *Erotemata* (*Erotemata grecha*)

The *Erotemata* by Chrysoloras (d. 1415), the first basic Greek grammar in use in western Europe, appeared in conjunction with a Latin text prepared by Guarinus Veronensis and were first published in Venice in 1471. The edition most likely sold here is the more recent Venetian one signed by Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, supposedly with Dionysius Bertochus as a silent partner, on 5 February 1484, which date, according to BMC, is not to be taken *more Veneto*.²⁷ Folio: a⁸ b⁴ c⁸ d-f⁴, ff. 32 (HCR 5020; BMC V, 390; GW 6698; IGI 2783; ISTC ic00494000).

Ten copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is sold on 3 June for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 7.5 *denari*.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De officiis*, with commentary (*Tullius de officiis cum commento*)

Cicero's last work, on public ethics, which deeply interested Renaissance thinkers, was first printed at Mainz in 1465 and was followed by numerous other editions, especially in Italy. The text received a first commentary by Omnibonus Leonicensis in c. 1481, but this was soon superseded, as far as *De officiis* was concerned, by that of Petrus Marsus. Between 1481 and the date of this entry four editions of the commented text appeared in Venice alone, of which the most recent is that by Baptista de Tortis on 13 March 1484. Folio: a-p⁸ q⁶ r⁴ s⁸ t-z⁶ &⁸ [cum]⁸, ff. 182 (H 5273; GW 6953; IGI 2909; ISTC ic00600000).

Five copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. Seven copies are sold for 2 ducats on 1 June, therefore for £ 1 s 15 each. Cost per sheet: 4.6 *denari*.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Epistolae ad familiares*, with the commentary of Hubertinus Clericus (*Epistole de tullio; tullii cum commento*)

First printed in Rome in 1467, Cicero's most successful collection of letters went through over thirty editions up to 1480, when it was first united with the commentary by Clericus, which had previously appeared separately (see below). The commentary together with the original text became the standard form of the work, with another twenty and more editions by the end of the century. Among the various Venetian editions to appear by the date of the entry in the ledger, the two most likely candidates are those published by Baptista de Tortis on 24 May 1482. Folio: a-d⁸ e⁶ f-y⁸ z¹⁰ A-O⁸, ff. 296 (H *5189; GW 6836; IGI 2835; ISTC ic00523500); and by Andreas Torresanus and Bartholomaeus de Blavis on 31 January 1483. Rhodes in BMC observes that the damage to the base of the mark shows the date to be

²⁷ As well as an argument deriving from the type, used previously elsewhere and not used again in Venice, BMC notes that in the “stock-in-trade of the anonymous Venetian bookseller whose day-book is excerpted by Horatio F. Brown”, ten copies of the *Erotemata* are listed and argues that “so large a number suggests a new edition in process of exhaustion and would tally well with an issue by de Pasqualibus about three months before” (V, p. xxxiv). While it is fascinating to find the *Zornale* cited in such an authoritative context, the quantities of books recorded in the stock-in-trade do not lend themselves to such an interpretation.

more Veneto, so 1484. Folio: a-k⁸ l¹⁰ m⁸ 2m⁸ n-t⁸ u¹⁰ x-z⁸ A-E⁸ F-H¹⁰, ff. 266, publisher's mark at f. H8r printed in red (H *5190; GW 6838; IGI 2836; BMC XII, 22; ISTC ic00524000).

A total of ten copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, with another bound copy among the "libri ligati". A copy is sold for 3 lire on 12 June. Cost per sheet: if 1482, 4.9 denari; if 1484, 5.4 denari.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Tusculanae disputationes*, with commentary (*Questiones tusculane cum commento*)

Cicero's exposition of Stoic values was first printed in Rome in 1469, rapidly followed by other editions in Venice and elsewhere in Italy and Europe. At the time of the entry in the *Zornale*, however, only one edition was available with a commentary, that published in Venice by Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis on 9 August 1482. Folio: a-l⁶ m⁴, ff. 70 (HC *5317; BMC V, 339; GW 6895; IGI 2992; ISTC ic00637000).

A total of four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, with another two added on 9 June. Two copies are sold as part of a block purchase on 5 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 1. Cost per sheet: 6.9 denari.

Cinquanta nouvelle, see Masuccio Salernitano

Clemens V, *Constitutiones (Sexto clementine grande)*

Part VII of the Medieval *Corpus iuris canonici*, generally known as the *Clementinae* after their promulgator, pope Clement V, it was first published at Mainz in 1460 and followed by numerous other editions. The entries in the *Zornale* show that it was sold together with part VI and that the editions were distinguished on the basis of their formats (see Bonifacius VIII above). The first Venetian edition in folio format is that published by Nicolaus Jenson in 1476, but it should be noted that this was also the first to include the *Decretales extravagantes* collected by pope John XXII. Folio: a¹⁰ b-h⁸ i¹², ff. 78, printed in red and black (H 5417; GW 7098; IGI 3020; ISTC ic00728000). Closer in time to the *Zornale* is the edition published by Andreas Torresanus and Bartholomaeus de Blavis on 30 October 1483. Folio: A¹⁰ B-H⁸, ff. 66, printed in red and black (H *5431 and 5440; BMC V, 306; GW 7110; IGI 3030; ISTC ic00737000), which also includes a selection of the *Decretales extravagantes*.

For the sales record, see Bonifacius VIII.

Clemens V, *Constitutiones (Sexto e clementine piccole)*

As shown in the previous entry, the shop stocked two different editions distinguished by size. The first edition in quarto format appeared in Venice and was published by Andreas Torresanus, Bartholomaeus de Blavis and Mapheus de Paterbonis on 3 August 1482, again including the *Decretales extravagantes*. Quarto: a-f⁸ g¹² h¹⁰ i⁸, ff. 78, printed in red and black (H *5428; GW 7101; IGI 3027; ISTC ic00730000). It was followed by a Rome edition on 3 July 1483, but the Venetian imprint is certainly the one sold here.

For the sales record, see Bonifacius VIII.

Clericus, Hubertinus, *In Epistolas ad familiares Ciceronis commentum (Comentum epistolarum tullii)*

Four editions of this Fifteenth-century commentary appeared more or less simultaneously in 1479 and 1480 in Vicenza, Treviso, and Milan, after which the editions of Cicero's *Epistolae* including the text of the commentary drove it off the market. Entries in the *Zornale* are careful to distinguish, however, between the "Epistole tullii cum commento" and "Comentum epistolarum tullii", also in terms of price with the former costing 50% more

(see Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares*, above). The said editions contain 298, 210, 358, and 357 leaves respectively and, considering the extremely modest price, the likeliest candidate is the one with the closest provenance and the fewest leaves, or that published in Treviso by Michael Manzolus on 30 March 1480. Folio: a¹⁰ b⁸ c⁶ d-r⁸ s⁶ t-u⁸ x⁶ y-z⁸ &⁸ 2a⁶, ff. 210 (HC 5463; BMC VI, 889; IGI 4912; GW n0191; ISTC ic00747020).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is sold for 2 *lire* on 18 June. Cost per sheet: 4.6 *denari*.

Comentum epistolarum tullii, see Clericus, Hubertinus, *In epistolas ad familiares Ciceronis commentum*

Consilium primi voluminis Alex., see Tartagnus, Alexander

Corpus iuris canonici. Constitutiones or *Clementinae*, see Clemens V

Corpus iuris canonici. Liber sextus Bonifacii VIII, see Bonifacius VIII

Cosmico, Niccolò Lelio, *Canzoni* (*Canzon de cosmico*)

This Fifteenth-century collection of satirical or amorous poems was first published in Venice by Bernardinus Celerius on 10 April 1478 and it is probable that this is the edition sold here. Quarto: a-f⁸ g⁶, ff. 54 (HCR 5781; BMC V, 266; GW 7803; IGI 3242; ISTC ic00943000). It was followed by another in Vicenza in 1481. Another possibility within the time-scale of the entire *Zornale* is the edition *sine notis* attributed to Hannibal Foxius, Marinus Saracenus, and Barthomaeus Confalonierus in Venice, where however the arguments marshalled by BMC for a date no earlier than the late summer of 1485 ring convincing. Quarto: A-F⁸ G⁶, ff. 54 (HCR 5780; BMC V, 407; GW 7805; IGI 3244; ISTC ic00943600). A further edition followed in 1492, but the work found no favour in the Sixteenth century.

A total of three copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvis Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 8 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 7.1 *denari*.

Crastonius, Johannes, *Lexicon Graeco-latinum* (*Vocabulista grecho grande*)

This famous dictionary written by a Fifteenth-century Carmelite, which found a permanent place in the pantheon with the Aldine edition of 1497, was first published in Milan in an undated edition by Bonus Accursius, for which a manuscript note in a Vatican copy shows that it appeared before 24 March 1478. It is more likely, however, that the *Zornale* is selling the second edition published in Vicenza by Dionysius Bertochus on 10 November 1483. Folio: a¹⁰ b-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [rum]⁸ A-F⁸ G⁶, ff. 264 (HCR 5813; BMC VII, 1049; GW 7813; IGI 3253; ISTC ic00959000). The ledger distinguishes between “grande” and “piccolo”, but the latter—not among the books sold in June 1484—is actually a shorter, Latin to Greek, dictionary, compiled primarily for use in schools, of which the extant editions are in smaller formats.

Four copies recorded as “grande” in the initial stock in trade. One copy sold on 3 June for £ 3. Cost per sheet: 5.4 *denari*.

Cronica, see Isidorus Hispalensis, *Chronicon*

Dante Alighieri, *La commedia* (*Dante con commento*)

Dante's great Medieval masterpiece was famously first printed in Foligno in 1472, while the first edition to include a commentary, that by Jacopus della Lana, was published by

Vindelinus de Spira in Venice in 1477. The first edition with the commentary of the contemporary Renaissance scholar, Cristoforo Landino, appeared in Florence in 1481; however, as is confirmed by the fuller entry in the stock in trade, the edition sold here is that published in Venice by Octavianus Scotus on 23 March 1484. Folio and quarto: a¹⁰ b-z⁸ &⁸ A-H⁸ I-K⁶, ff. 270, woodcut initials, publisher's mark at f. K6r printed in red (HC 5947; BMC V, 279; GW 967; IGI 361; ISTC id00030000). All the repertories concur in describing this very well-known edition as in folio format. In fact, while the majority of the paper-stock is of once-folded Median sheets (approx. 350×504 mm), gatherings z and & include a small quantity of half-sheets of Super-royal (approx. 480×680 mm), so that technically the edition is a mixed format.

Two copies described as "Dante con commento dottauiano" are recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is sold on 1 June 1484 for 1 ducat; another on 4 June, together with Gabriel Zerbus's work on metaphysics, for d 1 £ 5. It is interesting to note that the Dante rates as considerably more expensive than the Zerbus, despite being half the size, with 270 leaves against 512. The reason most likely lies in the prestige of the Landino commentary, one of the first genuinely 'new' texts written explicitly for the printing press, and the fact that the still recent Venetian reprint was nevertheless cheaper than the Florentine *princeps*. The higher quality of the Median and Super-royal paper stock probably also contributed to the price. Cost per sheet: 11 *denari*.

Dante con commento, see Dante Alighieri

Deche de biondo, see Blondus, Flavius

Deche de liiuo volgar del grisolaro, see Livius, Titus

Declamation, see Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius (pseudo-)

Decreto piccolo, see Gratianus

Dinus de regulis iuris, see Dinus de Mugello

Dinus de Mugello, *De regulis iuris* (*Dinus de regulis iuris*)

A treatise based mostly on Roman law, by the Italian Thirteenth-century jurist, professor of civil law at Bologna university. First printed at Rome in 1472, a little under twenty editions were published in the Fifteenth century, with others in the first half of the Sixteenth, after which the text disappeared. The edition sold here is most likely the first Venetian one published by Andreas Calabrensis on 10 June 1484. Folio: a-c⁶ d⁸, ff. 26 (H *6175; BMC V, 394; IGI 3439; GW 8358; ISTC id00199000).

The fact that the book is just off the press plausibly explains why no copies are recorded in the stock in trade, as well as the high price of the copy sold on 16 June for £ 1 s 10. As the newness fades, the price drops to £ 1 on 3 July 1484, and to 18 *soldi* in 1486 and 1487. Cost per sheet: 27.7 *denari*, dropping to 18.5 and 16.6 *denari*.

Diurno, see Diurnale

Diurnale (*Diurno*)

A diurnal contains the liturgy for the daytime hours of a breviary, that is excluding Matins. Some eighty editions are known from the Fifteenth century, of which about a quarter Venetian, many of them surviving in a single copy, so that others have certainly been lost in

their entirety. In its entries the *Zornale* elsewhere differentiates diurnals for the Benedictine or Dominican use, or printed by la Compagnia, Octavianus Scotus, Nicolaus de Frankfordia, Andreas Paltasichis, Andreas Torresanus, and finally by format with the indication “pizoli”. Unfortunately it is not specified which of these the copy presented as a gift to Francesco Gradenigo on 22 June belongs to, but our best guess is that it is the edition elsewhere described as the “diurno secundo la corte” or “diorno de Andrea de Asola”, in other words: Venice, Andreas Torresanus de Asula and Bartholomaeus de Blavis, 31 January 1483, possibly *more Veneto*, so 1484. In-16°: π^8 $2\pi^8$ a-m⁸ n⁶ A-I⁸ K⁴ 2a-2f⁸ 2g¹² 2h-2m⁸ 2n¹², ff. 304, printed in red and black (GW 8501; ISTC id00277600).

Four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 1. Cost per sheet: 12.6 *denari*.

Donati da puti, see Donatus, Aelius, *Ars minor*

Donatus, Aelius, *Ars minor* (*Donati da puti*)

Though it goes under the name of the Fourth century grammarian, the *Ars minor* or “Ianua” (doorway), is in fact a Medieval condensation of the late Roman schoolbook, in which a series of dialogues conveyed the rudiments of the language. It was quite possibly the first book printed with moveable type both in Germany and in Italy, but the editions have been lost. Likewise, although over four hundred records appear in the repertories of incunabula, most of them refer to fragments. Some twenty of these describe Venetian editions, again few of them complete, and so there is a high likelihood that what was sold through the *Zornale* has also disappeared. For the purposes of our description we take one of the few surviving intact editions, which besides the Donatus includes the *Disticha Catonis*, known in a single paper copy, attributed to Nicolaus Jenson in about 1478. Quarto: [a-c⁸], ff. 24, printed in red and black (ff. [a]1r-[c]2v), woodcut frame printed in red on f. [a]1r (H 6377; GW 08991; ISTC id00341930). Since this was a school text, copies were frequently printed on parchment, with an obvious consequence for the price.

Twelve ordinary copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, together with three in parchment and one bound copy in parchment. Another two parchment copies are added on 31 May and another two bound copies on 28 June. One copy in parchment is sold on 3 June for £ 2, while two—again on parchment—are sold at the slightly discounted price of £ 3 s 10 on 12 June. Two copies of “donati da puti” on paper are sold on 23 June for 6 *soldi* and afterwards the price seems to stabilise at 5 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: on parchment, 80 or 70 *denari*; on paper, 12 or 10 *denari*.

Elegantiole valle, see Accursius, Bonus

Epistole de tullio, see Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Epistolae ad familiares*

Epistolae et evangelia totius anni (*Euangelii epistole volgare*)

Also known as the *Lectionarium Missae* or the *Plenarium*, this collection of readings for the Catholic liturgy, was staple fare for early printers north of the Alps, though no editions of the Latin text seem to have been produced in Italy. The earliest known edition of the Italian version, variously attributed to Florence or Naples, appeared c. 1470, and was followed by numerous others, though the low survival rates makes it certain that yet more have been lost. Among the Venetian editions, closest in time to the *Zornale* are that attributed to Baptista de Tortis on 25 June 1481. Folio: a⁸ b-o⁶, ff. 84 (GWM34178; ISTC ie00093000), known in a single copy; that by Thomas de Blavis on 2 October 1482. Folio: a-b⁸ c-d⁶ e-f⁸ g⁶ h⁸ i⁶ k⁸ l⁶ m⁸ n⁴, ff. 90 (H 6637; IGI 3697; GW M34183; ISTC ie00093100), documented in

three copies; and that by Petrus de Plasiis on 16 March 1484. Quarto: A⁴ a-l⁸ m⁴ n⁶, ff. 102 (R 172; GW M34198; ISTC ie00093120). All these editions contain a large amount of printing in red and black as well as music, so that the cost-per-sheet calculation favours the in-4° edition. The title given in the ledger reflects the *incipit*, as it appears in most of these impressions: “QVI INCOMENZA LE EPISTO|le & li euangelii uulgari che se dicono | tutto la(n)no alla messa...” (1482). The inversion of the first two words in the sales record appears elsewhere in the ledger, albeit in a minority of instances, but does not seem to have any bibliographical significance.

Ten copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 16 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: if 1481, 4.6 *denari*; if 1482, 4.3 *denari*; if 1484, 7.5 *denari*.

Epistole tullii cum commento, see Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Epistolae ad familiares*

Erotimata grecha, see Chrysoloras, Emanuel

Esopo istoriado, see *Aesopus moralisatus*

Euangelii epistole volgare, see *Epistolae et evangelia totius anni*

Facetie de pogio, see Poggius Florentinus

Fatige de ercules, see Bassi, Pietro Andrea de

Fiametta, see Boccaccio, Giovanni, *La Fiammetta*

Filomena, see Martinozzi, Andrea di Simone

Filostratto, see Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Il Filostrato*

Fior de virtù, see *Fiore di virtù*

Fiore di virtù (Fior de virtù)

The most important text of Medieval popular piety, of which, beginning in Venice c. 1472, editions poured from presses all over Italy, including quite a few that have certainly been lost. The closest to the sales made in June 1484 is that by Andreas de Bonetis dated 6 May 1484. Quarto: a-d⁸, ff. 32 (HR 7104; IGI 3940; GW 9942; ISTC if00178800), surviving in three copies. In Venice alone, within the arc of time covered by the ledger, further editions appeared in 1485 and 1487.

Six copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 6 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 9 *denari*.

Fiore novello estratto dalla Bibbia (Fioretti de la bibia)

Again a text of popular piety, containing passages from the Bible, first published in Venice in 1473, it enjoyed a success along the lines of the *Fiore di virtù*. Most of the editions belong to Venice or to nearby Treviso. Closest in time to the sales in the *Zornale* is that by Baptista de Tortis in Venice on 12 October 1482. Folio: a-i⁶ k⁴, ff. 58 (HR 7121; IGI 3924; GW 9907; ISTC if00171900), surviving in three copies. Inside the book the title appears as “Fiore nouello”, but some earlier editions have an *explicit* reading “Finito he questo libro chiamato fioreto nouello” (1476) and this feature may have influenced the bookselling tradition.

Five copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for an average of 16 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 6.6 *denari*.

Fioretti de la bibbia, see *Fiore novello estratto dalla Bibbia*

Formularium instrumentorum ad usum Curiae romanae (*Formularium Instrumentorum*)

Anonymous collection of models for legal documents going back to a much older manuscript tradition. It was not published in Venice until the Sixteenth century, and so the book sold here probably belongs to one of the several Roman editions, of which the most recent is that by Stephan Planck on 22 October 1482. Quarto: [a-x⁸ y¹⁰], ff. 178 (HR 7283; IGI 4028; GW 10204; ISTC if00256500).

A total of four copies are added to the stock in trade on 9 June. Two copies are sold on 12 June and on 16 June for £ 2. Price per sheet: 10.8 *denari*.

Gellius, Aulus, *Noctes Atticae* (*Aulo gelio*)

A compilation of notes on grammar, philosophy, history, antiquarianism and much else, written by the Roman author and grammarian in the second century. First published in Rome in 1469, it was followed by other editions, of which the closest is that printed in Venice by Andreas de Paltasichis in 1477. Folio: a¹⁰ b-x⁸ y-z⁶ A-B⁸, ff. 198 (HC *7520; BMC V, 251; IGI 4189; GW 10596; ISTC ig00121000).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 1 June as part of a block purchase; elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 2 s 10. Cost per sheet: 6.1 *denari*.

Gratianus, *Decretum* (*Decreto piccolo*)

A collection of canon law compiled in the Twelfth century by a Bolognese jurist, which became a standard textbook for students all over Europe and first made its way into print at Strasbourg in 1471, after which date editions proliferated, especially in Italy. As elsewhere in the *Zornale*, a difference in size rests on the format, and at the time of the entry only two editions, both Venetian, including the commentaries by Johannes Teutonicus and Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, had been published that are smaller than folio. First by Adam de Rottweil, in an undated edition, where the preface of the editor Ghisbertus de Stoutenburch is however dated 25 January 1480. Quarto: a-e¹² f-h⁸ i¹² k-l⁸ m¹² n¹⁰ o-z¹² A-U¹² X⁸ Y¹⁰ Z¹², ff. 524, printed in red and black (HC *7882; BMC V, 250; IGI 4399; GW 11361; ISTC ig00369000); and second by Petrus de Plasiis on 25 January 1483, perhaps not *more Veneto* since in 1484 this date fell on a Sunday. Quarto: A-I¹² K⁸ L-Y¹² 2A¹² 2B⁸ a-x¹² y-z⁸, ff. 548, printed in red and black (HC *7900; BMC V, 269; IGI 4401; GW 11365; ISTC ig00373000).

Four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy sold on 9 June for d 1 £ 1 s 6. Cost per sheet: if c. 1480, 13.7 *denari*; if 1483, 13.1 *denari*.

Gregorius I, pope, *Homiliae super Evangelii*, in Italian (*Omellie de s. gregorio*)

While the Latin text of Gregory's sermons was first published in an edition attributed to Günther Zainer in Augsburg on 28 August 1473, no editions of the same appeared in Italy previous to 1493 and so it is probable that the sale here refers to the Italian translation published in Milan by Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler on 20 August 1479. Quarto: a-s⁸ t⁶ v⁸, ff. 158 (HCR 7953; BMC VI, 746; IGI 4439; GW 11423; ISTC ig00423000). The title attributed by the *Zornale* reflects the *incipit* at f. a2r: "Incomincia el libro de le omellie de mesere sancto Gregorio ...".

A total of three copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, among other vernacular titles. One copy was sold on 28 June for £ 2 s 10. Cost per sheet: 15.2 *denari*.

Guainerius, Antonius, *De peste et de venenis* (*Tractatus de peste et de venenis*)

The identification presents some uncertainties, but the evidence favours the treatise, *De peste et de venenis* by Antonius Guainerius (d. c. 1455), of which the only known edition, *sine notis*, is attributed to Venice and the printer Reynaldus de Novimagio in c. 1487. Evidently, if this attribution is to be accepted, the dating assigned by the repertories has to be revised. Folio: a¹⁰ [b¹⁰ c⁸ d¹⁰ e⁶], ff. 44 (H *8101; IGI 4516 and 4518; GW 11591; ISTC ig00526000). An alternative is the *De arte cognoscendi venena* by Arnoldus de Villa Nova, which in Fifteenth-century editions included the treatise *De epidemia et peste* by Valascus de Tarenta. Several editions were produced in Northern Italy from 1473 onwards, the closest in time being that published in Milan by Christophorus Valdarfer in 1475. Quarto: [a-b⁶ c-d⁸], ff. 28 (H 10 + 1806; IGI 863; BMC XII, 52; GW 2524; ISTC ia01069000). The principal objection to this identification is that the cost-per-sheet is high at 17.1 *denari*.

One copy recorded in the initial stock in trade, presumably the same sold on 30 June for 3 *lire* as part of a double purchase, the other book being the *Breviarium* attributed to Arnoldus de Villa Nova, generally sold for £ 2 s 10, therefore the deducible price is 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 5.4 *denari*.

Guarinus Veronensis, *Regulae grammaticales* (*Regule de guarino, Regule guarini*)

In Renaissance schools the grammar of Guarino (d. 1460) supplemented the classical textbook by Donatus. The earliest known edition, attributed to Federicus de Comitibus in Venice, is dated 5 January 1470, and it was to prove an enduring bestseller in printing shops all over Italy. Most of these editions are known in one, at the most two, copies and so it has to be presumed that numerous others have been entirely lost. In the period before and covered by the *Zornale*, Venetian presses produced an average of a couple of editions a year, but the low survival rate signifies that the real output was much higher and thus there is little purpose in trying to identify a particular imprint as that marketed by our bookseller. Closest in time are the editions by Baptista de Tortis on 21 February 1484. Quarto: a-d⁸ e⁴, ff. 36 (GW 11654; ISTC ig00536600), known in a single copy, where, if the date is taken as *more Veneto*, it was not yet available in June 1484; and that attributed to the press of Henricus de Harlem with the date 10 April 1484. Quarto: a-d⁸ e⁶, ff. 38 (GW 11653; ISTC ig00536500), again known in one extant copy, formerly in Dresden, now in Moscow.

Six copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. Three copies are sold in June 1484: on 2 June for 8 *soldi*, and on 23 and 26 June as part of block purchases. Cost per sheet: 10.7 or 10.1 *denari*.

Guido de Cauliaco, *Chirurgia*, in Italian (*Guidon*)

This medical treatise by the eminent Medieval French surgeon Guy de Chauliac (d. 1368) remained a standard textbook well into the Sixteenth century. The first edition of the Latin text appeared *sine notis* and is attributed to Lérida in Spain c. 1479–80; it was followed by numerous translations into other languages. The edition listed here is necessarily the *principes* of the Italian translation by Paolo Varisco, published in Venice by Nicolaus Girardengus on 2 November 1480. Folio: a⁸ b⁴ c⁸ d¹⁰ e-f⁸ g¹⁰ h⁸ i¹⁰ k⁸ l-n¹⁰ p-q¹⁰ R¹⁰ S-T⁶ r-u⁸ x-z⁶ A-C⁶ D¹⁰, ff. 240 (CR 1548; BMC V, 273; IGI 4562; GW 11701; ISTC ig00562000).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy sold on 6 June for £ 3. Cost per sheet: 6 *denari*.

Guidon, see Guido de Cauliaco

Hieronymus, *Vitae sanctorum patrum, sive Vitas patrum* (*Vita patrum literale*)

In the category of patristic texts an undoubted bestseller, Saint Jerome's lives of the holy fathers was first published in Cologne in an edition doubtfully attributed to a period between 1471 and 1475. The earliest Italian edition of the Latin text—which the *Zornale* differentiates from the translation—appeared at Caselle in Piedmont on 30 August 1475, but afterwards found its way to Venice, where the first edition and also the one most probably sold here was published by Octavianus Scotus on 14 February 1483 (BMC argues that the similarity to the *Legenda aurea* of 12 December 1483 makes a dating *more Veneto* more likely, so 1484). Quarto: a-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [rum]⁸ A-E⁸ F⁴, ff. [8], ccxliiii, [1] [= 252] (HC *8599; BMC V, 279; IGI 4753; GW M50888; ISTC ih00206000). The form of the title in the ledger echoes the paratext of the vernacular version, where the title often appears in the singular.

A total of two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is sold on 10 June together with the Latin text of the legends of the saints and a bound Ptolemy for d 5 £ 3 s 4. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 3. Cost per sheet: 11.4 *denari*.

Hieronymus, *Vitae sanctorum patrum, sive Vitas patrum*, in Italian (*Vita patrum vulgare*)

Since it also sells the Latin version, the *Zornale* distinguishes the Italian translation by Domenico Cavalca, first published at Sant'Orso by Leonardus Achates in 1474. Between the *princeps* and our entry there were no less than seven Venetian editions, of which the nearest in time is that by Bernardinus de Pino in 1483. Folio: a-d⁸ e⁶ f⁸ g-h⁶ i⁸ k⁶ l⁸ m⁶ n⁸ o⁶ p-q⁸ r⁶ s⁸ t⁶ u-x⁸ y⁶, ff. 158 (HR 8621; BMC V, 380; IGI 4766; GW M50955; ISTC ih00228600).

Two copies "de bona stampa" recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is part of the purchase/barter for green ginger on 26 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 2. Cost per sheet: 6.1 *denari*.

Isidori ethimologiarum, see Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*

Isidorus Hispalensis, *Chronicon*, in Italian (*Cronica*)

Rather curiously, the universal chronicle of the Seventh century Bishop of Seville was first printed in Italian translation in Ascoli Piceno by Golielmo de Linis in 1477, while the Latin text did not appear until 1593 in Turin. Though the rarity of the *princeps*, which survives in a single copy, means that other early impressions might have been lost, it is probable that the edition sold here was the second, published in Cividale by Gerardus de Lisa, albeit unsigned, on 24 November 1480. Quarto: a-e⁸ f¹⁰, ff. 50 (HC *9308; BMC VII, 1094; IGI 5402; GW 15247; ISTC ii00179000). A third edition was published at L'Aquila in 1482, after which it was not reprinted until 1524 in Venice.

Four copies, recorded as the "Cronica de sancto isidoro", in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 5 June for £ 3 s 10; another is bartered in exchange for olive oil on 26 June, together with two copies of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, generally priced at £ 1 s 10, so the olive oil acquired in exchange for these three books was worth d 1 £ - s 6. Cost per sheet: 67.2 *denari*.

Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae* (*Isidori ethimologiarum*)

What is often considered the first Western encyclopedia was first printed in Augsburg in 1472 and was published another six times by the end of the century. The only edition to appear in Italy previous to June 1484, certainly the one sold here, was that printed in Venice

by Peter Lösslein in 1483, which added the same author's *De summo bono*. Folio: π^4 a-h¹⁰ i¹² k¹⁰ 2 π^2 A-B¹⁰ C⁸, ff. [4], [1], 101, [2], 28 [= 136], ill. (H 9272; HC 9279; BMC V, 379; IGI 5406; GW M15272; ISTC i000184000). The genitive plural recorded for the title in the ledger reflects the title as it appears in the text, for instance at f. a2r: "Incipit liber primus etymologiaru(m) | sancti Isidori hispalensis episcopi".

Ninety copies recorded in two separate entries in the initial stock in trade. Two copies, together with a copy of the Italian text of Isidore's *Chronicon*, are bartered for olive oil on 26 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 1 s 10. Cost per sheet: 5.3 *denari*.

Iuniano, see Maius, Junianus

Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum* (*Legendario literale*, *Legende sanctorum literale*)

Already an enormous success in manuscript and first published in an edition attributed to Strasbourg in c. 1472, the Golden legends written by a Thirteenth-century Dominican became one of print's largest and most enduring bestsellers. In Venice alone, up to the time of our sales, four editions of the Latin text were published, of which the most recent is that by Octavianus Scotus on 12 December 1483. Quarto: a-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [rum]⁸ A-D⁸ E⁶, ff. ccxvi, printed in red on f. a1r (CR 6433; BMC V, 278; IGI 5020; GW M1344; ISTC ij00106000). In the colophon the *explicit* of this edition reads: "Reuerendi fratris Jacobi de Voragi-|ne de sanctor(um) legendis opus perutile hic fi|ne(m) habet", whereas the title *Legendario* also employed by the bookseller derives from the parallel Italian translation by Niccolò Malermi.

A total of three copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 3 June for £ 3 and another as part of a block purchase on 10 June. Cost per sheet: 11.7 *denari*.

Jacobus Philippus de Bergamo, *Supplementum chronicarum* (*Supplementum cronicarum*)

The author (1434–1520) was an Augustinian monk, who is known to incunable repertoires by his religious names, but in catalogues for later periods is usually recorded by his family name, Foresti. Despite the title, his 'supplement' does not refer to any specific earlier text, but is a universal chronicle in its own right, beginning with the book of Genesis and ending shortly before the date of publication. The edition sold here can only be the *princeps* published in Venice by Bernardinus Benalius on 23 August 1483. Folio: π A¹⁰ a¹² b-i⁸ k-l⁶ m-n⁸ o-p⁶ A-F⁸ G-H⁶ I⁸ K-M⁶ N⁸ O⁶ P⁸ Q-2D⁶, ff. 306 (HC *2805; BMC V, 370 and XII, 26; IGI 5075; GW M10969; ISTC ij00208000). It was followed by numerous re-editions, in which even after the author's death the chronicle was updated to the present, and remained a best-seller, especially in Italian translation, well into the Sixteenth century.

A total of six copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is sold on 16 June for £ 3 s 14. Cost per sheet: 5.8 *denari*.

Justiniano, Leonardo, *Canzonette* (*Canzone del Iustiniano*)

The lyrics of the Venetian poet-aristocrat (d. 1446), often set to music and enormously popular at the time, were first published in an edition attributed to Venice in c. 1472. Another nine editions, all but one Venetian, appeared by 1500, but it is plausible that others have been lost. Two of these were printed by Antonius de Strata, first on 8 August 1480, and again, probably the item recorded in the ledger, on 9 March 1482. Quarto: a-e⁸ f⁴, ff. 44 (R 955, IGI 4328, GW M15586). Four copies of this edition survive today. The title accorded by the *Zornale* abbreviates the rather elaborate version of the original: "Il fiore delle elegantissime canzonette".

Six copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 10.9 *denari*.

Lamente de per la madona, see *Lamento della Vergine Maria*

Lamento della Vergine Maria (*Lamente de per la madona*)

The evidence of the title, including the stock in trade, seems to point to this short text, which circulated in different forms and in editions of only a few leaves. The survival rate of the five extant incunable editions, all *sine notis*, is extremely low and the dates attributed to the same by the repertories are later than the period of activity covered by the *Zornale*. The obvious conclusion therefore is not only that the edition sold here is earlier than any known today, but also that it has been entirely lost. By way of comparison, the impression attributed to Matteo Capcasa in Venice in c. 1490, is nearest in time and space. Quarto: [a]⁴, ff. 4, ill. (IGI 5638; GW M1680120; ISTC il00029200). Differently from other versions of this text, which have “il lame(n)to della uergi(n)e maria” in the title or in the *explicit* (ISTC il00029260), this Venetian edition begins with “Comenza el pianto de la madona” and in the final line the poem describes itself as a “lamento”. The real difficulty in this identification is posed by the price, which is enormous for a text published as a single sheet. So either the bookseller had a different and more substantial work, which has been completely lost, or we should understand a small packet of titles, as might be suggested by the plural title, sold together as a block.

The initial stock in trade records three copies of “Lamenti e pianti de la Madonna”. One copy is sold on 12 June for 8 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 96 *denari*.

Legendario literale, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*

Legende sanctorum literale, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*

Leonardus de Utino, *Sermones de sanctis* (*Sermones de sanctis fratris leonardi*)

Highly successful collection of sermons by a renowned Dominican preacher (d. 1469), first published in 1473, with a total of sixteen incunable editions, many of them German and French, before it completely disappeared in the Sixteenth century. The edition sold in the *Zornale* could be either that published in Venice by Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen in 1475. Quarto: a-l¹⁰ m¹² n⁸ o-z¹⁰ &¹⁰ [cum]¹⁰ [rum]¹⁰ 2a-2c¹⁰ 2d-2e¹², ff. 314 (HC *16132; BMC V, 226; IGI 5739; GW M17905; ISTC il00157000); or that published in Vicenza by Stephan Koblinger in 1480. Quarto: a-c¹² d-y⁸ 1-18⁸ 19-20¹², ff. 356 (HC *16136; BMC VII, 1043; IGI 5743; GW M17910; ISTC il00162000).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 9 June for £ 2 s 10. Cost per sheet: if 1475, 7.6 *denari*; if 1480, 6.7 *denari*.

Leoniceus, Omnibonus, *De arte metrica* (*Scansiones peroti et omniboni*)

The formula does not refer to any known edition containing the treatises on metrics of both Perottus and Leoniceus (d. 1474), of which the latter was first published c. 1471. A plausible solution to the dilemma lies, however, in the sale as a single unit of the two unsigned editions by these same two authors assigned by the repertories to Bonino de Boninis in Verona, c. 1483. Quarto: A¹², ff. 12 (C 3545; IGI 6998; GW M27810; ISTC il00170000). The *incipit* reads: “CLARISSIMI OMNIBONI LEONICENI | DE VINCENTIA LIBELLVS de arte metrica”. For the Perottus, see below.

Five copies, described as “Scansiones guarini et peroti”, most likely a slip by the person writing the inventory, are recorded in the initial stock in trade. Two copies of both editions are sold on 18 June in a single sale for 14 *soldi*. Cost per sheet, calculating the two editions together: 8 *denari*.

Livius, Titus, *Historiae Romanae decades*, in Italian (*Deche de liiio volgar del grisolaro*)
After the Roman *princeps* in 1476, two editions of the Italian version of Livy were published in Venice previous to June 1484, but neither is signed by a “grisolaro”, whom we take to be the humanist Jacobus Grasolarius (see *Biblia*, in Italian, above). The two possibilities are that signed by Antonio di Bartolommeo, identified as Miscomini by incunabula repertoires, where the third part is dated 11 April 1478. Folio: π^6 a-n¹⁰ o⁸; $^2\pi^{10}$ $^2\pi^{10}$ $^2a^{10}$ $^2b-q^8$ $^2r^6$ $^2[s]^{10}$; $^3a-o^8$ $^3p^4$ $^3[q]^{10}$, ff. 436 (HC 10145; BMC V, 241; IGI 5783; GW M18515; ISTC il00252000), or that printed by Octavianus Scotus, with the second part dated 28 June 1481. Folio: v^6 a-o¹⁰ p⁸ $^2A^{10}$ A-P¹⁰ $^2a^{10}$ $^2a-2m^{10}$ $^2n^6$, ff. 440 (HR 10146; BMC V, 276; IGI 5784; GW M18516; ISTC il00253000).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. On 30 June 1484 one copy of the *Deche* is sold together with the Italian Bible for d 2 £ 2 s 12. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for d 1 £ 1 s 6. Cost per sheet: if 1478, 8.3 *denari*; if 1484, 8.2 *denari*.

M. Antonius Sabellicus, see Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius

Magistris, Johannes de, *Quaestiones perutiles super tota philosophia naturali* (*Questiones Iohannis magistris*)

The Aristotelian commentaries of the royal lawyer Johannes de Caulaincourt, better known as de Magistris (d. 1510), enjoyed a brief vogue in Fifteenth century publishing, but soon dropped out of sight. It is not clear whether the first edition of this text is that *sine notis*, published in France, most probably at Toulouse, c. 1479–82, or that attributed to Damianus de Moyllis, signed and dated Parma, 12 December 1481. Unquestionably it is the latter that is sold in the *Zornale*. Folio: a^{10} b-o⁸ p⁶ q-t⁸ u-x⁶, ff. 164 (HC *10447; BMC VII, 940; IGI 5939; GW M19842; ISTC im00025000). Within the arc of time represented by the ledger, a Venetian edition becomes available on 30 May 1487.

A total of six copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. Three copies are sold as part of a block purchase on 5 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it is sold for £ 2. Cost per sheet: 5.9 *denari*.

Maius, Junianus, *De priscorum proprietate verborum* (*Iuniano*)

Large-scale glossary of Latin terms by a contemporary Neapolitan teacher and grammarian, first published in Naples in 1475, followed by another five editions up to 1490, after which date it has never been reprinted. Closest to the *Zornale* is the edition published in Venice by Octavianus Scotus on 3 June 1482. Folio: a-z⁸ &⁸ A-L⁸ M⁶, ff. 286 (HC 10542; BMC V, 277; IGI 6039; GW M20104; ISTC im00098000). The initial stock in trade records one copy “in forma magna” and two copies “in forma piccola”, but all the extant editions are in folio format, so the reason for the distinction is unclear.

One copy is sold as part of a block purchase on 1 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 3. Cost per sheet: 5 *denari*.

Mamotretto, see Marchesinus, Johannes

Marchesinus, Johannes, *Mamotrectus super Bibliam* (*Mamotretto*)

An indispensable working tool for preachers, this dictionary of biblical terms compiled by a Thirteenth-century Franciscan friar went through 29 editions in the Fifteenth century, though a slow-down in the rate of production in the 1490s heralds its demise in the early Sixteenth century, since when it has not been republished. The *princeps* appeared at Mainz in 1470, but previous to 1484 five editions had been produced in Venice alone. The most likely candidate is that published by Franz Renner in 1483. Octavo: A-C⁸ a-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [tum]⁸ [rum]¹⁰, ff. 242 (HC *10563; BMC V, 198; IGI 6151; GW M20831; ISTC im00243000). The success of the sales possibly induced Francesco de Madiis to publish his own edition in 1485, where the reference under the colophon to the reigning doge, Marco Barbarigo, shows that it was completed after the latter's election on 19 November of the same year. Octavo: A-C⁸ a-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [tum]⁸ [rum]¹⁰, ff. 242 (HC *10564; BMC V, 333; IGI 6152; GW M20823; ISTC im00245000).

A total of 30 copies, of which four bound, recorded in the initial stock in trade. Three copies are sold in June 1484: one as part of a dual purchase on 26 June for £ 3 s 10, together with a Breviary printed by Petrus de Plasiis which generally sold for £ 2, therefore the cost of the Mamotretto is £ 1 s 10; the other two on 26 and 30 June, also for £ 1 s 10. Cost per sheet: 11.9 *denari*.

Martinozzi, Andrea di Simone, *Uberto, Filomena e Alba (Filomena)*

The authorship of the work is provided by an acrostic in the opening strophes of the poem. The first known edition was produced in Venice by Gabriele di Pietro in 1475, with others following, either in Venice or in Florence. The six known incunable editions are all very rare and it is likely that others have been lost. Closest to the *Zornale* in chronological terms are the editions published in Venice by Antonius de Strata on 8 April 1483. Quarto: a¹⁰ b-i⁸ k⁶, ff. 80 (IGI 9001; GW M48803; ISTC im00317200), known in two imperfect copies, and that dated 4 May 1484, known in a single damaged copy, which IGI attributes to Lucas Dominici in Venice and GW to Antonio Tubini in Florence. Quarto: [a⁶ b-g⁸ h⁶], ff. 60 (IGI 9002; GW M48802; ISTC im00317300). Given that Antonius de Strata frequently appears as the probable printer of items in the *Zornale*, the first possibility is probably the better one. The title attributed by the ledger repeats the formula of the *incipit*: "INCOMINICA VNA NOBILISSI-|ma operetta dicta Philomena ...".

Five copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: if 1483, 6 *denari*; if 1484, 8 *denari*.

Masuccio Salernitano, *Novellino (Cinquanta nouelle)*

Though the formula appears in the "rEpertorio ouero tauola de gli argomenti", the book-seller's title given to this Fifteenth-century collection of stories is governed by the nomenclature given to Boccaccio's *Decameron*, recorded here and elsewhere in Renaissance listings as *Cento nouelle*. First printed in Naples by Francesco del Tuppo in 1476, the *princeps* has been entirely lost (H 10884), though a copy was seen and described in the Eighteenth century. There followed two reprints, the first in Milan by Christophorus Valdarfer on 28 May 1483. Folio: π⁴ a-h⁸ i⁶ k⁸ l-m⁶ n-p⁸, ff. 118 (HC 10885; BMC VI, 727; IGI 6266; GW M21554; ISTC im00345000); the second in Venice by Baptista de Tortis on 8 June 1484. Folio: π² a-l⁶ m⁸, ff. 76 [numbered as [2], lxxiii, [1]] (HCR 10886; BMC V, 323; IGI 6267; GW M21562; ISTC im00345500). Though Tortis frequently appears as a probable supplier of books in the *Zornale* and thus it is plausible that the edition is his, here only one day

elapses between the date in the colophon and its inclusion in the stock in trade and only four days between it and the sale.

Seven copies added to the stock in trade on 9 June. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 1. Cost per sheet: if 1483, 4.1 *denari*; if 1484, 6.3 *denari*.

Meditation de la passion, see Caulibus, Johannes de

Mela, Pomponius, *Cosmographia sive De situ orbis* (*Pomponio mella*)

First published in Milan by Antonio Zarotto in 1471, this classical geographical treatise had another eight editions by the end of the century. The most recent Venetian edition is that published by Erhard Ratdolt on 18 July 1482. Quarto: A-F⁸, ff. 48; woodcut map on f. A1v; title printed in red on f. A2r (HC *11019; BMC V, 286; IGI 6344; GW M34876; ISTD 1000452000).

Five copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy sold on 1 June with five other titles. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 10 *denari*.

Mengo, see Blanchellus, Menghus

Merlin. *La storia di Merlino* (*Prophetie de merlino*)

Chivalric prose romance belonging to the Arthurian cycle, according to the *explicit* taken from a manuscript translation from the French completed on 20 November 1379. The *princeps* was published in Venice by Lucas Dominici on 1 February 1480, possibly 1481 *more Veneto*, and was the only edition extant in the period covered by the *Zornale*. Folio: a¹⁰ b-c⁸ d⁶ e⁸ f⁸ g-o⁶, ff. 102 (HR 11087; BMC V, 279; IGI 6373; GW 12671; ISTD 1000498500). On the form of the title used by the bookseller, while the *incipit* at f. a2r begins "Incomincia el primo libro de la historia | de Merlino", the text at f. o2r ends "Et a tal mo|do como edicto disopra funo adunate & | messe inscripto le marauigliose prophetie de | Merlino" and likewise the index of chapters running from f. o2r to f. o5v constantly employs the formula "prophetie de Merlino".

A total of four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 1. Cost per sheet: 4.7 *denari*.

Mesue, Johannes, *Opera medicinalia* (*Mesue*)

Written in the Ninth century by the Syrian doctor Yahyā Abū Zakariyā Ibn Māsawayh, this archetypal textbook of medicine was published a little under twenty times as an incunable, beginning in 1471, with only one exception always in Italy, and remained in print up to the end of the Sixteenth century. The edition most likely sold in the *Zornale* is that published in Venice by Reynaldus de Novimagio on 31 January 1479, though this was a Sunday, so the date is probably *more Veneto*, or 1480. Folio: a¹⁰ b-d⁶ e⁸ f-h⁶ i⁸ k⁶ l⁸ m-s⁶ t-u⁸ x-z¹⁰ &¹⁰ [cum]¹⁰ [rum]⁸ x[rum]⁸ 2a-2o¹⁰ 2p⁸ A-F⁶ G⁸, ff. 392 (HC *11008; BMC V, 255; IGI 6387; GW M23013; ISTD 1000513000).

A bound copy is recorded in the initial stock in trade and is sold on 18 June for d 1 £ 1 s 16. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 3 s 10, so in this case the binding doubled the price of the book. Cost per sheet: 4.3 *denari*.

Metafisica gabrielis, see Zerbus, Gabriel, *Quaestiones metaphysicae*

Metafisica s. tome, see Thomas Aquinas

Michel scotto, see Scotus, Michael, *Liber physiognomiae*

Missale Romanum, published by Nicolaus de Frankfordia (*Missaletti de mastro Nicolo*) Nicolaus de Frankfordia, who often features in the *Zornale* as a supplier of books, by the end of the Fifteenth century in Venice produced no less than six editions of Missals, either for the Roman rite or for the Dominican order, and all in octavo format. The reference here is necessarily to his first Roman Missal, edited by Philippus de Rotingo, dated 1484. Octavo: π^8 $2\pi^4$ a-y⁸ 1–15⁸, ff. 308, printed in red and black, 1 woodcut ill. (HCR 11382; IGI 6613; ISTC im00696300).

A total of ten copies are added to the stock in trade on 21 June. One copy is sold on 25 June for £ 2. Cost per sheet: 12.5 *denari*.

Missaletti de mastro Nicolo, see *Missale Romanum*, published by Nicolaus de Frankfordia

Morgante, see Pulci, Luigi

Nicolaus de Ausmo, *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae* (*Pisanella con suplemento*)

The Medieval digest for confessors of Bartolomeo da San Concordio, near Pisa, known as the *Summa Pisanellae*, was reworked by the Observant Franciscan Niccolò da Osimo (d. c. 1453) and first printed in Venice by Vindelinus de Spira in c. 1473, with another twenty editions up to 1485, when it fell out of publishing favour. The contained price suggests that the edition sold here is the most recent one, the first in a small format, published in Venice by Franz Renner in 1483. Octavo: a-y⁸ A-Y⁸ 1–22⁸, ff. 528 (HC *2165; BMC V, 197; IGI 6880; GW M26263; ISTC in00075000). The complexity of the title is apparent from the *incipit* to this edition at f. azr, which begins “In no(mi)ne d(omi)ni n(ost)ri lh(es)u (christ)i. Amen. | Incipit liber q(ui) dicit(ur) supplementu(m)”, while it is the text itself that explains “Quonia(m) | summa | que magistrutia | seu pisanella vulgarter nu(n)cupat(ur)”.

Ten copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, with another ten added on 31 May. Two copies are sold together on 22 June for £ 5. Cost per sheet: 9.1 *denari*.

Officeto de piero veronese, see *Officium BMV*, published by Petrus de Plasiis

Officeto del bressano, see *Officium BMV*, published by Jacobus Britannicus

Officeto piccolo, see *Officium BMV*, published by Petrus de Plasiis

Officium BMV secundum usum Romanum, published by Jacobus Britannicus (*Officeto del bressano*)²⁷

Lost edition. The denomination ‘bressano’ identifies Jacobus Britannicus, who, together with his brother, was active both at Venice and in his native city, Brescia. In the early 1480s, especially in the publication of liturgical texts, including several breviaries and missals, he frequently collaborated with Johannes de Gregoriis.

A total of eight copies, of which four bound, recorded in the initial stock in trade, with another two in parchment added on 31 May. One copy is sold on 22 June for 10 *soldi*.

²⁷ On the Books of hours recorded in the *Zornale*, see Cristina Dondi-Neil Harris, ‘Best-selling Titles and Books of Hours in a Venetian Bookshop of the 1480s: The *Zornale* of Francesco de Madiis’, *La Bibliofilia*, vol. 115 (2013), pp. 63–82.

Officium BMV secundum usum Romanum, published by Petrus de Plasiis (*Officieto de piero veronese; officieto piccolo*)

Lost edition. Although between 1478 and 1485 Petrus de Plasiis is known to have published no less than seven Breviaries and one Missal, no *Officium* is known today. As often happens in the bibliography of liturgical texts, it is not easy moreover to decide how many editions are recorded by the *Zornale*. The initial stock in trade mentions twelve “officietti picoli”, followed by four bound “officietti de piero veronese et de Andrea”, which may or may not belong to the same edition. Andrea necessarily identifies Andreas Torresanus, whose name frequently crops up in the *Zornale*, but for whom the repertories record only one *Officium BMV*, published in 1481 for the Company, certainly not the item sold here. Torresanus and de Plasiis, together with Bartholomaeus de Blaviis, frequently collaborated, especially in the publishing of breviaries. One copy, bound, and specifically assigned to “piero veronese” is sold on 4 June for £ 1, and it is plausible that this is short-hand for an edition produced in joint-venture by the three publishers; another copy, simply listed as “officieto piccolo legato” is sold on 30 June, again for £ 1, so it might belong to the same edition.

Omelie de s. gregorio, see Gregorius I, pope, *Homiliae super Evangeliiis*

Ouidio de arte amandi, see Ovidius Naso, Publius, *De arte amandi*

Ovidius Naso, Publius, *De arte amandi*, in Italian (*Ouidio de arte amandi*)

While the Latin text had been published on its own outside Italy from c. 1474 and, together with the *De remedio amoris*, in Italy at Rome, here the sale is unquestionably of the Italian translation, of which the Venetian printing shops had produced several editions from c. 1472 onwards. The rarity of the same suggests that other editions have been lost in their entirety, including, quite plausibly, that sold here. Among the survivors, closest in time and possibly in space is the edition *sine notis*, which some repertories attribute to Thomas de Blavis in Venice c. 1482 and others to Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscopini in Florence c. 1480. Quarto: a¹⁰ b-d⁸ e⁶, ff. 40 (R 1015; IGI 7063; GW M28653; ISTC 1000139400), known in three copies. In confirmation that the text sold here is the translation, it should be noted that both the *incipit* and the *explicit* maintain the Latin form of the title.

Seven copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 8 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 9.6 *denari*.

Paulus de Sancta Maria, *Additiones ad postillam magistri Nicolai de Lyra super Biblia*, with the *Replicationes* by Mathias Doering (*Bibia con nicolo de lira con .2. adition*)

The work of a learned Spanish Jewish scholar, Solomon ha-Levi (c. 1351–1435), who converted to Christianity and is known under several names, including Paulus Burgensis, the *Additiones* integrate the biblical glosses of Nicolaus de Lyra and circulated together with the replies, or objections, by Mathias Doering. As texts they were first published in Venice in the 1481 Jenson edition of the Bible, where the glosses by Nicolaus de Lyra are followed first by the *Additio* and then by the *Replicatio*. In 1483 however Franciscus Renner separated them from the glosses and issued them as a separate work, which is clearly what is sold here. Folio: a-o⁸ p¹⁰ q⁸ r-t⁶ [u]², ff. 150 (BMC V, 198; other repertories consider it part of the 1482 Renner Bible, see above).

Nine copies of the “Addition del Nicolo de lira” recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy of the Bible with the glosses by Nicolaus de Lyra is sold, together with two copies of

the *Additiones*, on 28 June for d 3 £ 4 s 18. Based on the average price of the Bible, the cost of a single copy of the *Additiones* works out at £ 5 s 1, giving a cost per sheet of 17.9 *denari*. Later in the *Zornale*, however, it sells for much less: for instance, on 3 January 1485 and on 4 April 1486 for 2 *lire*, and on 22 April 1486 for £ 1 s 10.

Peregrinationes ierusalem, see *Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae*

Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae (*Peregrinationes ierusalem*)

Small basic guide for travellers to the Holy Land. Of the two earliest known editions, the first *sine notis*, but attributed to Leonardus Wild in Venice, c. 1480, is extant in only two copies. Octavo: a-e⁴ f⁶, ff. 26, *incipit* printed in red (IGI 7402; GW M3089420; ISTC ip00262300); the other, which declares itself Venetian, but is otherwise unsigned and undated, again c. 1480, survives in a single known copy. Octavo: a-g⁴, ff. 28, *incipit* printed in red (ISTC ip00262500). Given the number of sales in the *Zornale* on the one hand and the low survival rate of the known editions on the other, it is probable that a large number of early editions have been lost and the items sold here belong to one of these. On the form of the title employed by the bookseller, the *incipit* of the *sine notis* edition reads “[I]nfra-scripte sunt peregrinationes totius ter[re] sa(n)cte que a modernis peregrinis visitant(ur)”, while the colophon has: “Finunt Indulge(n)tie: & peregrinationes terre sa(n)cte hierusale(m): & locor(um)”. Both formulae appear with only slight variants in the reprints.

Thirteen copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, with another 32 added on 9 June. In June 1484 12 copies are sold in eight separate sales at a constant price, or multiples, of 10 *soldi*, specifically on 9 June (three consecutive sales, respectively of 1, 2 and 3 copies), on 10 June (two separate sales, the first of 2 copies), on 11 June, and on 12 June (two consecutive sales). The flurry of sales at the beginning of the month and relative dearth afterwards might imply that a pilgrimage was about to depart and that travellers were equipping themselves with a necessary guide book. The extremely high price, calculated on a cost-per-sheet basis, suggests moreover that our bibliographical knowledge of this book is imperfect. It may, for example, have been accompanied by one or more copper-plate maps which have been lost. Cost per sheet: 36.9 or 34.3 *denari*.

Perottus, Nicolaus, *De generibus metrorum* (*Scansiones peroti et omniboni*)

This short text on Latin metrics by the Fifteenth-century humanist was first published in Bologna in 1471, but the formula employed by the ledger suggests that the edition here is that *sine notis* attributed to Bonino de Boninis in Verona, c. 1483, together with an edition of the work by Leoniceus. Quarto: a-c⁸ d⁶, ff. 30 (C 4691; R 670; BMC VII, 952; IGI 7430; GW M31109; ISTC ip00298000). The title reads: “NICOLAI PEROTI DE GENERIBVS | METRORVM.

For the sale record, see the entry for Leoniceus.

Persio cum commento, see Persius, Aulus Flaccus

Persius, Aulus Flaccus, *Satyrae*, with the commentary of Bartholomaeus Fontius (*Persio cum commento*)

Persius' *Satyrae* were marketed as both the straight text, first published in an unsigned edition attributed to Ulrich Han in Rome in c. 1470, and together with the commentary of the Renaissance humanist, Bartholomaeus Fontius, published for the first time in Venice in 1480 by a so far unidentified printer, who issued an edition of Martial in the same year. Within our time-scale there followed another four editions of the version with the commentary, one in Treviso and three in Venice. The latter were all printed in 1482 and the

copies recorded in the ledger are almost certainly from one or more of these. The first was published by Battista de Tortis on 14 March. Folio: a-d⁶ e⁴, ff. 28 (CR 4702; BMC V, 322; IGI 7495; GW M31382; ISTC ip00343000); the second was issued by the same printer on 6 December. Folio: a-c⁶ d-e⁴, ff. 26 (HC *12721; BMC V, 322; IGI 7496; GW M31386; ISTC ip00344000); the third was printed by Reynaldus de Novimagio on 24 December. Folio: a-b⁶ c⁴ d⁶, ff. 22 (HC *12722; IGI 7497; GW M31373; ISTC ip00345000).

Six copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 5 June for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 8.6, 9.2, or 10.9 *denari*.

Petrarca, Francesco, *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi* (*Petrarcha con commento*)

Italy's great Medieval lyric poet was first published in 1470 and numerous editions followed. The presence of a commentary identifies the edition as one of a series first published in Bologna in 1475–76, with the commentary on the *Canzoniere* by Francesco Filelfo and that on the *Trionfi* by Bernardo Lapini. The most recent Venetian edition is that published by Leonardus Wild in 1481. Folio: *Canzoniere*: A-H⁸ I-K⁶, ff. 76 (HC *12768; IGI 7531; GW M31647; ISTC ip00382000); *Trionfi*: a¹⁰ b-g⁸ h⁶ i-x⁸ y-z⁶, ff. 180 (separate entries in IGI 7547; GW M31702). Though Petrus de Plasiis had an edition in the press in 1484, according to the colophons, the *Trionfi* were completed on 31 May and the *Canzoniere* on 18 August, so only the first part might have been available for sale in June.

A total of eight copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 2 June for £ 3 and another forms part of the block purchase on 12 June to Alvise Capello. Cost per sheet: 5.6 *denari*.

Pisanella con suplemento, see Nicolaus de Ausmo

Platina, Bartholomaeus Sacchi, called, *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (*Platina de honesta vol.*; *Platina de honesta vol.*)

The archetypal Renaissance cookery book, actually a Latin version of the Italian recipes of the most famous cook of the time, Martino da Como, first printed in Rome in c. 1475, with another eight editions by 1500, including one outside Italy at Louvain. The most recent Venetian edition is that by Laurentius de Aquila and Sibyllinus UMBER, published on 13 June 1475. Folio: [a⁴ b¹⁰ c-m⁸], ff. 94 (H *13051; BMC V, 239; IGI 7849; GW M33900; ISTC ip00762000). It is possible however, that it is the first book printed at Cividale, by Gerardus de Lisa on 24 October 1480, since the printer had close links with Treviso and Venice. Quarto: [1–11⁸ 12⁶], ff. 94 (HC(Add) *13052; BMC VII, 1094; IGI 7850; GW M33895; ISTC ip00763000). The title used by the bookseller is that of the *incipit* in the Venice edition at f. [a]1v: "PLATYNAE DE HO-[NESTA VOLVPTATE | ET VALITVDINE".

A total of seven copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. Three copies are sold, two as single items on 5 June for 14 *soldi* and on 12 June for 12 *soldi*, and the other on 28 June with four other titles for d 1 £ 4 s 16. Cost per sheet: if folio edition, 3.6 or 3.1 *denari*; if quarto edition, 7.2 or 6.1 *denari*.

Platina, Bartholomaeus Sacchi, called, *Vitae pontificum* (*Platina de vitis pontificum*)

First large-scale biography of the popes, written by the soon-to-be-appointed Vatican librarian (d. 1481). The edition sold here is certainly the *princeps*, attributed to Venice and signed by the printers Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen on 11 June 1479. Folio: a¹⁰ b-o⁸ p⁶ q-y⁸ z¹⁰ &⁸ 2a-2e⁸ 2f⁶, ff. 240 (HC *13045; BMC V, 235; IGI 7857; GW M33887; ISTC ip00768000), though we should note that an edition was printed in Nuremberg by Koberger

in 1481 and that it will be followed by a further edition attributed to Treviso and signed by Johannes Rubeus on 10 February 1485. On the form of the title used by the bookseller, the *incipit* at f. a2r reads “PROEMIVM PLATYNAE IN VITAS PONTIFI[CVM]”, while the colophon has “Excele(n)tissimi historici Platinae i(n) uitas su(m)mor(um) po(n)tificu(m) ... p(re)claru(m) op(us) foelicit(er) explicit”.

A single bound copy is recorded in the initial stock in trade and sold on 22 June for £ 5 s 10. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* unbound copies are sold for £ 2 in 1484, showing that in this particular case the binding nearly tripled the price, which subsequently falls to £ 1 s 15 in 1485. Cost per sheet: 4 *denari*.

Plinio literale, see Plinius Secundus, Gaius

Plinius Secundus, Gaius, *Historia naturalis* (*Plinio literale*)

First printed in Venice by Vindelinus de Spira in 1469, Pliny's *Historia naturalis* had another 14 editions of the Latin text by the end of the century, of which the closest to the *Zornale* is published in Venice by Raynaldus de Novimagio on 6 June 1483. Folio: 2a⁸ 2b¹⁰ a-r¹⁰ f¹⁰ s-z¹⁰ &⁸ [cum]¹⁰ [rum]¹⁰ A-H⁸ I¹⁰, ff. 356 (HC *13095; BMC V, 257; IGI 7886; GW M34329; ISTC ip00794000).

Four copies in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 2 June with five other titles. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 3 s 10. Cost per sheet: 4.7 *denari*.

Poggius Florentinus, *Facetiae*, in Italian (*Facetie de pogio*)

First printed in a group of editions assigned to c. 1470 in Venice and Rome, this Fifteenth-century collection of amusing stories, archetype of the modern joke-book, was hugely successful all over Europe with nearly forty impressions by the end of the century. In the context, however, it is probable that the book sold here belongs to the Italian translation, which is known from four editions from the Fifteenth century, all in single copies, so other impressions have very likely been lost. The earliest of these and the only one to fall certainly in the time-span covered by the *Zornale* is that published in Venice by Bernardinus Celerius in 1483. Quarto: a-c⁸ d⁶ e⁸ f-g⁶, ff. 50 (R 684; IGI 7938; GW M34596; ISTC ip00872400).

Five copies recorded in the initial stock in trade together with other vernacular titles. One copy included in the block purchase by Alvise Capello on 12 June, where all the other texts are in Italian. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 9.6 *denari*.

Polibio, see Polybius

Polybius, *Historiae*, translated by Nicolaus Perottus (*Polibio*)

The work of a classical Greek historian describing the rise of Rome and its conquest of the Hellene world, which became an important model for Renaissance humanism. The only candidate is the edition published in Rome by Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz and dated Thursday 31 December “1473”, which may stand for 1472 in the Roman calendar where the New Year began on 25 December. Folio: [a-c¹⁰ d-l⁸ m¹⁰ n⁸ o¹⁰ p-q⁸ r¹⁰ s⁸], ff. 156 (HC *13246; BMC IV 16; IGI 7978; GW M34818; ISTC ip00907000).

One copy recorded in the initial stock in trade, sold on 3 June for £ 3 s 10. Cost per sheet: 10.8 *denari*.

Pomponio mella, see Mela, Pomponius

Pratica Raynaldi de villa noua, see Arnoldus de Villa Nova

Prediche de ruberto vulgare, see Caracciolus, Robertus

Prophetie de merlino, see Merlin

Psalmistà grande, see *Psalterium romanum*

Psalmistà in greco, see *Psalterium*, in Greek and Latin

Psalmistà piccolo, see *Psalterium romanum*

Psalmistà volgar con exposition, see *Psalterium abbreviatum*, in Italian

Psalterioli da puti, see *Psalterium puerorum*

Psalterium, in Greek and Latin, edited by Joannes Crastonus (*Psalmistà in greco*)

The only plausible candidate is the bilingual edition, with the Greek and Latin text set in parallel columns, published in Milan, attributed to the press of Bonus Accursius, on 20 September 1481. Quarto: π^2 a-x⁸ y-z⁶, ff. 182 (HC *13454; BMC VI, 756; IGI 8123; GW M36246; ISTC ip01035000).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, with another two added on 9 June. One copy is sold in a block purchase of six books on 1 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* this title is always part of a multiple sale, but, subtracting the known costs of the other books, the deduced price works out at d 1 £ - s 2. Cost per sheet: 33.2 *denari*.

Psalterium abbreviatum (*Psalmistà volgar con exposition*)

Also known as the *Psalterium sancti Hieronymi*, translated by Niccolò Malermi, the only edition of the Psalter extant in Italian at the time presents a small bibliographical mystery, since despite the declaration in the colophon "impresso a Venetia", BMC convincingly reassigns its printing to Milan. Quarto: π^8 a-c⁸ d¹⁰ e-g⁸ h¹⁰, ff. 76 (HC 13527; BMC V, 247 and VI, 733; IGI 8169; GW M36262; ISTC ih00188500).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 21 June for £ 1 s 5. Cost per sheet: 15.8 *denari*.

Psalterium puerorum (*Psalterioli da puti*)

Printed in huge numbers and destroyed in equally huge numbers, small Psalters for children, also basic reading aids, are a staple fare of the *Zornale*. A single surviving copy is known, belonging to an edition signed by Erhard Ratdolt, and attributed to Venice some time before 1486. Quarto: [a]⁸, ff. 8, printed in red and black, ill. (H 13532; GW M35931; ISTC ip01073500). There must have been many lost editions and those sold by the bookseller might equally well have been in octavo format.

Ten copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. Two copies are sold on 23 June in a block purchase for £ 1 s 10, including two Donatus (at 6 *soldi* each) and a Guarinus (at 10 *soldi*), so the cost of the *Psalterioli* works out at 4 *soldi* each. Cost per sheet, largely hypothetical: 24 *denari*.

Psalterium romanum (*Psalmistà grande*)

A range of possibilities and bad survival rates have to be taken into account, with the bookseller's distinction between *grande* and *piccolo* resting on a difference of format. Among the various Venetian editions the best extant candidate is that published by Nicolaus Girardengus in 1482. Quarto: a-k⁸ l⁴, ff. 84, printed in red and black (R 1336; IGI 8155; GW M36330; ISTC ip01042600), known in two copies, one of them on parchment.

Five copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 2 June for 15 *soldi* and another on 16 June for 16 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 8.6 or 9.1 *denari*.

Psalterium romanum (*Psalmistà piccolo*)

As has been said, the distinction of *picolo* in the *Zornale* most likely refers to an octavo format or smaller, while small-size worship books have a very poor survival rate and so the edition sold here may well have been lost. The closest Venetian edition is that published by Jacobus Britannicus and Thomas de Blavis on 18 June 1480. Octavo: a-o⁸ p⁴, ff. 116, printed in red and black (R 1849; IGI 8153; GW M36321; ISTC ip01041350), known in five copies.

Four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 12 June for 12 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 9.9 *denari*.

Psalterium sancti Hieronymi, see *Psalterium abbreviatum*

Pseudo-Bonaventura, see Caulibus, Johannes de

Ptolemaeus, Claudius, *Cosmographia* (*Ptolomeo*)

Rather than the *Quadripartitum* published in Venice by Erhard Ratdolt on 15 January 1484, and clearly listed with its title later on in the *Zornale*, the high price and the fuller entry given in the stock in trade show the book sold here is the *Cosmographia* adorned with copper-plate maps. Two editions are possible. Earlier and nearer is that published in Bologna by Dominicus de Lapis, erroneously dated 23 June “1462”, instead of 1477. Folio: A¹⁰ B-C⁸ D⁴ a¹⁰ b⁸ c⁶ E⁶ [f]², ff. 62, 26 sheets with engraved maps (H *13538; BMC VI, 814; IGI 8181; GW M36368; ISTC ip01082000); further and slightly later the one published in Rome by Arnoldus Buckinck on 10 October 1478. Folio: [a⁸ b¹⁰ c⁸ d¹⁰ e-g⁸ h¹⁰], ff. 70, 27 sheets with engraved maps (H 13537; BMC IV, 78; IGI 8182; GW M36362; ISTC ip01083000). The earliest edition of the *Cosmographia* produced in Northern Italy was published in Vicenza by Hermann Lichtenstein on 13 September 1475, but appeared without the maps.

One bound copy, described as “Ptolomeo con le figure” is recorded in the initial stock in trade and sold on 12 June, together with a *Vita patrum literale* (generally sold for £ 3) and four copies of the *Legende sanctorum literale* (also sold for £ 3), for a total of d 5 £ 3 s 4. The price of the bound illustrated Ptolomy therefore works out at d 1 £ 2 s 12.

Ptolomeo, see Ptolemaeus, Claudius

Pulci, Luigi, *Il Morgante* (*Morgante*)

Together with Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, the *Morgante*, first issued in 23 cantos, increased shortly afterwards to 28, giving rise to the label “maggiore”, was the first Italian bestseller to make explicit reference to the printing press. The lost *princeps* was published in Florence, most likely in 1478; the earliest surviving Venetian edition was published by Lucas Dominici, dated 26 February 1481, probably *more Veneto*, so 1482. Folio: a-b⁸ c-i⁶ l⁶ m-t⁶, ff. 118 (H 4517; GW M09056; ISTC ip01123700), known in a single copy. The first known edition with the longer version was published in Florence by Francesco di Dino on 7 February 1482, again probably with the local calendar, so 1483. Folio: a-z⁸ &⁸ 2a-2e⁸ 2f⁶, ff. 238 (C 4990; BMC VI, 633; GW M36592; ISTC ip01123900). If we take account of the fact that the version in 23 cantos had lost some commercial viability, together with the price, it is plausible that the *Zornale* records a lost Venetian edition in a quarto format.²⁸

²⁸ On the history of the editions of the *Morgante* and their survival rates, see Neil Harris, ‘Sopravvivenze e scomparse delle testimonianze del *Morgante* di Luigi Pulci’, in *Paladini di carta. Il modello cavalleresco fiorentino*. Atti del convegno, Firenze, 8–9 maggio 2003, a cura di Marco Villorresi (Roma: Bulzoni, 2006), pp. 89–159, published with minor changes also in *Rinascimento*, s. II, vol. 45 (2005), pp. 179–245.

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 10 June for £ 1 s 10. Cost per sheet: if 1481, 6.1 *denari*; if 1482, 3 *denari*. If we base the calculation, however, on the first extant Venetian edition in 4°, published by Matteo Capcasa with the date “1449” [i.e. 1489], containing 212 leaves, the price per sheet works out at 6.8 *denari*.

Quarta de lantonina, see Antoninus Florentinus

Questiones Iohannis magistris, see Magistris, Johannes de

Questiones tusculane cum commento, see Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Tusculanae disputationes*

Quintilian, see Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius, *Institutiones oratoriae*

Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius, *Institutiones oratoriae* (*Quintilian*)

The most famous classical textbook of rhetoric was first published in Rome in 1470 and was followed by another nine editions within the century. The edition sold here may be that *sine notis*, associated with the 1480 edition of Valla, which it has been suggested was produced by Johannes Rubeus operating in Treviso or in Venice. Folio: π^2 a⁸ b-r^{8/6} s-z⁸ &⁸ A⁶ B⁸ C⁶ D⁴, ff. 202 (HCR 13644; BMC VII, 1137, and XII, 21; IGI 8262; GW M36815; ISTC iq00028000). Alternatively it may be the Treviso edition by Peregrinus de Pasqualibus and Dionysius Bertochus on 22 October 1482. Folio: a-q⁸ r¹⁰ [s]², ff. 140 (HC *13661,2; BMC VI, 899; IGI 8263; GW M3681710; ISTC iq00028500).

Two copies recorded in the initial stock in trade, together with a bound copy among the “libri ligadi”. This last is sold together with four other books on 28 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 1 s 17. Cost per sheet: if c. 1480, 4.4 *denari*; if 1482, 6.3 *denari*.

Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius (pseudo-), *Declamationes maiores* (*Declamation*)

Though the authorship is dubious, in the Renaissance this collection of examples of classical rhetoric was consistently published under the name of Quintilian. The other collection marketed with the same paternity, known as the *Declamationes minores*, first appeared in Parma in 1494. While the *princeps* of the *Declamationes maiores* may be that *sine notis* attributed to Louvain, c. 1480, two editions were published in Venice by Lucas Dominici, the first on 2 August 1481. Folio: π^2 a-b⁸ c-s⁶ t¹⁰, ff. 124 (HCR 13657; BMC V, 280; IGI 8254; GW M36798; ISTC iq00019000), and the second on 5 June 1482. Folio: a¹⁰ b-o⁶, ff. 88 (HC *13649, 13658; C 5010; BMC V, 281; IGI 8255; GW M36800; ISTC iq00020000). A further possibility, as far as the *Zornale* is concerned, is the edition *sine notis* attributed to Peregrinus de Pasqualibus and Dionysius Bertochus in Treviso, where a date in the autumn of 1482 is established by the watermark evidence (BMC). Folio: A-I⁶, ff. 54 (HCR 13661,1; BMC VI, 899; IGI 8256; GW M36796; ISTC iq00021000).

Four copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold as part of a block purchase on 28 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 1. Cost per sheet: if 1481, 3.9 *denari*; if 1482, 5.5 *denari*; if c. 1482, 8.9 *denari*.

Regiomontanus, Johannes (pseudo-), *Ephemerides 1484–1506* (*Almanach; Almanacho ouero Tacuino*)

Though published under the prestigious name of Regiomontanus (d. 1476), in the editions of the time, these elaborate and extensively illustrated calculations of the movements of the heavens up to 1506 are in fact the work of the Spanish and Hebrew astronomer, Abraham Zacutus (1452–1515). First issued in print in 1474 in Germany, they were next published in Venice by Erhard Ratdolt in 1481. The edition sold here is most likely the second

Ratdolt edition published on 4 April 1484 and thus extremely recent. Quarto: [a¹⁰ b-z¹⁴ A¹⁴], ff. 332, ill. (HC *13791; BMC V, 288; IGI 5320; GW M37499; ISTC iroo107000).

Four copies, described as "Tacuini", recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy sells for a substantial d 1 on 9 June and another on 10 June; the price will however drop to £ 5 later in the year and to £ 4 in 1485. Cost per sheet: 17.9 *denari*.

Regulle de abaco

No sure identification of this entry has been possible. Hypothetically, it might be a lexical variant for the *Arte dell'abbaco* (see above). The ledger is however usually consistent in its vocabulary and the term "Regulle" does not appear in the Treviso Arithmetic. It should also be noted that the initial stock in trade lists two copies of a "Regule dabaco", immediately followed by the "Arte de abaco", while the price for the latter, sold on 26 June for 15 *soldi*, is also 50% more expensive. It seems likely therefore that the entry is for a lost edition and a lost work, containing a short treatise in Italian on commercial arithmetic.

One copy is sold on 5 June for 10 *soldi*.

Regule de guarino, see Guarinus Veronensis

Rolandinus de Passageriis, *Summa artis notariae* (*Summa orlandini*)

Written in 1255, this fundamental textbook for the profession of notary was first published at Modena in 1476 and remained constantly in print up to the early Seventeenth century. The first Venetian edition and the one almost certainly sold here is that by Andreas de Bonetis on 30 April 1483. Quarto: a¹⁰ b-l⁸ m¹⁰ B⁸, ff. 108 (HC *12085; BMC V, 360; IGI 7246; GW M38646; ISTC iroo246500).

Six copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 3 June for 18 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 8 *denari*.

Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius, *De vetustate Aquileiensis patriae* (*M. Antonius Sabellicus*)
 Marcantonio Coccio, known as Sabellico (d. 1506), wrote his history of the origin of Aquileia and the territory of Udine at a time when the author was living and working there, before moving to Venice in 1484. It is the only title by him extant in print at the time of the entry, in an edition signed by Antonius de Avinione and attributed in the more up-to-date repositories to Padua sometime in the early 1480s. The *Zornale* therefore establishes a secure *terminus post quem non*. Quarto: a-e⁸ f¹⁰ g-k⁸ l¹⁰ m-n⁸, ff. 108 (HC *14058; BMC VII, 1138; IGI 8492; GW M39270; ISTC isoo010000).

Three copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. A copy is sold on 16 June, together with the *Summa Astesana*, for d 1 £ 1 s 16; the *Summa* alone generally sells for d 1 £ - s 16, so the deducible price for the Sabellicus works out at £ 1. Cost per sheet: 8.9 *denari*.

Scansiones peroti et omniboni, see Perottus, Nicolaus

Scotus, Michael, *Liber physiognomiae* (*Michel scotto*)

This important Medieval medical and astrological textbook was first printed in an edition attributed to Venice in 1477, and went through numerous other editions by the end of the century, most of them though elsewhere in Europe. The edition most likely sold here is that *sine notis* attributed to Johannes Rubeus in Treviso, c. 1483. Quarto: a-f⁸, ff. 48 (HC *14546; BMC V, 421; IGI 6423; GW M23305; ISTC im00551800).

Ten copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold as part of a block purchase on 28 June. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for 10 *soldi*. Cost per sheet: 10 *denari*.

Sermones de sanctis fratris leonardi, see Leonardus de Utino

Sexto e clementine, see Bonifacius VIII; Clemens V

Summa astensis or *Summa astesana*, see Astesanus de Ast, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*

Summa orlandini, see Rolandinus de Passageriis

Supplementum cronicarum, see Jacobus Philippus de Bergamo

Tartagnus, Alexander, *Consilia* (*Consilium primi voluminis Alex.*)

The *Consilia* of this famous Renaissance jurist (d. 1477) appeared in different forms in different Italian cities from 1477 onwards. If we take the reference to the first volume literally, it can mean either the edition published in Bologna by Henricus de Colonia on 14 June 1483. Folio: a⁸ b-e⁶ f-g⁴ h-i⁶ k-l⁴ m-n⁸ o-p⁶ q-r¹⁰ [gothic r]⁶ f⁶ s-t⁶ u⁴ x⁶ y⁴ z⁶ &⁴ [cum]⁴ [rum]⁸ A⁶ B⁴ C⁶ D⁸, ff. 182 (HC *15256; IGI 9304; GW M44943; ISTC it00023100), where volumes II-IV had appeared earlier in 1480 and 1481; or that published in Milan by Antonius Zarottus for Johannes de Legnano on 21 February 1484. Folio: a⁸ b⁶ c-e⁸ f⁶ g-i⁸ k⁶ l-m⁸ n⁶ o⁸ p⁶ q-t⁸ u⁶ x⁸ y¹⁰, ff. 166 (H 15255, 1; GW M44965; ISTC it00021500,1), where volumes II-IV appeared later in 1485. It is just possible however that the entry means the single volume of the *Consilia* published in Venice by Jacobus Rubeus on 23 December 1477, where a reference to other volumes published in the advertisement at the beginning shows that the date is not *more Veneto* (BMC). Folio: a¹⁰ b-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [rum]⁸ A-E⁸, ff. 250 (HC *15265; BMC V, 217; IGI 9303; GW M44980; ISTC it00021000).

One copy added to the stock in trade on 21 June and sold on the same day for £ 5 s 10. Cost per sheet: if 1477, 10.6 *denari*; if 1483, 14.5 *denari*; if 1484, 15.9 *denari*.

Textus logice, see Aristoteles, *Logica*

Thomas Aquinas, *Interpretatio in Metaphysicam Aristotelis* (*Metafisica s. tome*)

The huge corpus of the works of the Dominican saint (d. 1274) quickly made its way into print with over two hundred editions by the end of the Fifteenth century, including his several commentaries on Aristotle. The commentary on the metaphysics, based on the Latin translation by William of Moerbeke, originally written in 1270-72, was first published in Pavia by Franciscus Girardengus on 15 October 1480 and is unquestionably the edition featured here. Folio: a¹⁰ b-n⁸ o-s⁶ t¹⁰ u⁸, ff. 154 (HC *1508; BMC VII, 1003; IGI 9620; GW M46201; ISTC it00245000). It was reprinted in Venice in 1493.

A total of three copies recorded in the initial stock in trade. One copy is sold on 5 June as part of a block purchase. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 1 s 2. Cost per sheet: 3.4 *denari*.

Tractatus de peste et de venenis, see Guainerius, Antonius

Tractatus de vrinis, see Aegidius Corboliensis

Tullii con commento, see Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Epistolae ad familiares*

Tullius de officiis cum comento, see Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De officiis*

Valerio maximo con commento or *Valerius maximus cum commento*, see Valerius Maximus, Gaius

Valerius Maximus, Gaius, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, with the commentary of Omnibonus Leonicens (*Valerio maximo con commento*; *Valerius maximus cum commento*)

Written by the Roman historian of the early Imperial era, this work consists of anecdotes taken from Roman history for use in the schools of rhetoric. First published in an edition assigned to Strasbourg c. 1470, it was a Renaissance bestseller with some thirty editions of

the Latin text, as well as translations into French and Spanish. It was first published in Venice in 1471, followed by another five editions up to the time of the entry in the ledger, but only the two most recent include the commentary by Omnibonus Leonicensus and either is possibly the one sold here. The first is signed by Johannes de Gregoriis on 18 June 1482. Folio: π^4 a-n⁸ o⁶ p-q⁸ r⁶ s⁸ t⁴ u-x⁸ y⁴ z⁸ &⁶ [cum]¹⁰ [rum]⁶ A⁶ B⁸ C⁶ D¹⁰, ff. 228 (HC 15786; BMC V, 339; IGI 10065; GW M49173; ISTC iv00033000); the second is unsigned, but attributed to the same press, and from a manuscript date in a Munich copy appeared no later than 1484. Folio: π^2 a-b⁸ c⁶ d-z⁸ &⁸ [cum]⁸ [rum]⁶, ff. 206 (H *15785; BMC V, 352; IGI 10067; GW M49175; ISTC iv00035000). Though the ledger sometimes records the title with vernacular phrasing, the work was not published in Italian until 1504.

The initial stock in trade distinguishes three copies of “Valerius maximus”, presumably the version without commentary, with respect to four copies, with another four added on 9 June, of “Valerius maximus cum commento”. One copy is sold on 3 June for £ 2 s 10; another three copies are part of a block purchase on 5 June; and yet another is sold on 10 June for £ 2 s 12. Cost per sheet: if 1482, 5.3 or 5.5 *denari*; if c. 1484, 5.8 or 6.1 *denari*.

Valturio literale, see Valturius, Robertus

Valturius, Robertus, *De re militari* (*Valturius literale*)

One of the most famous books of the Renaissance, containing descriptions and illustrations of weapons and war machines, by an Italian author (d. 1475) active at the court of Sigismondo Malatesta in Rimini. Rather than the 1472 *princeps*, the edition sold here is almost certainly the one printed in Verona, unsigned, but by Boninus de Boninis, on 13 February 1483. Folio: π^6 a¹⁰ b-z⁸ &¹⁰ [cum]¹⁰ A-D⁸ E¹⁰, ff. 254, 96 woodcut illustrations (HC *15848; BMC VII, 952; IGI 10115; GW M49414; ISTC iv00089000). The *Zornale* entry in fact distinguishes the Latin text with respect to the Italian translation published four days later, this time signed by Boninus, on 17 February 1483, which it also stocked.

One copy recorded in the initial stock in trade, followed by a bound copy in the “libri ligadi”; two more copies are added on 28 June. A copy is sold on 28 June as part of a block purchase, together with a bound copy of Quintilian, a copy of the *Declamationes* of pseudo-Quintilian, a Platina *De honesta voluptate*, and Michael Scotus, for d 1 £ 4 s 16. Elsewhere in the *Zornale* it sells for £ 3 s 5. Cost per sheet: 6.1 *denari*.

Vita patrum literale, see Hieronymus, *Vitae sanctorum patrum*

Vita patrum vulgare, see Hieronymus, *Vitae sanctorum patrum*, in Italian

Vocabulista grecho grande, see Crastonus, Johannes

Zerbus, Gabriel, *Quaestiones metaphysicae* (*Metafisica gabrielis*)

The thoughts of a contemporary physician and anatomist (1445–1504/5), who taught at Padua, Bologna, and Rome and published other titles, the *De cautelis medicorum* and the *Gerontocomia*, which appeared only once in the Fifteenth century. The *Quaestiones* likewise were published in a single edition in Bologna by Johannes von Nördlingen and Heinrich von Haarlem on 1 December 1482. Folio: π A¹⁰ a¹² b-r^{8/10} [gothic r]⁸ f¹⁰ s⁸ t¹⁰ u⁸ v¹⁰ x¹⁰ y⁶ A¹⁰ B⁸ C-F^{8/10} G⁸ H-N^{8/10} O⁸ P-U^{8/10} X⁶ Y⁸ 2a⁸ 2b¹² 2c¹⁰ 2d⁸ 2e-2f¹⁰ 2g¹² 2h⁸ 2i⁶, ff. 512, titles printed in red at ff. A1v and A2r (H *16285; BMC VI, 820; IGI 10443; GW M52098; ISTC iz00027000).

Two copies are added to the stock in trade on 31 May. One copy is sold on 12 June, together with a Dante with commentary, for d 1 £ 5 s -, so, deducting the cost of the *Commedia*, the price of the Zerbus is £ 5. Subsequently in the *Zornale* it sells for even less, £ 3 s 10, showing that it found few customers. Cost per sheet: 4.7 *denari*.

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